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THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

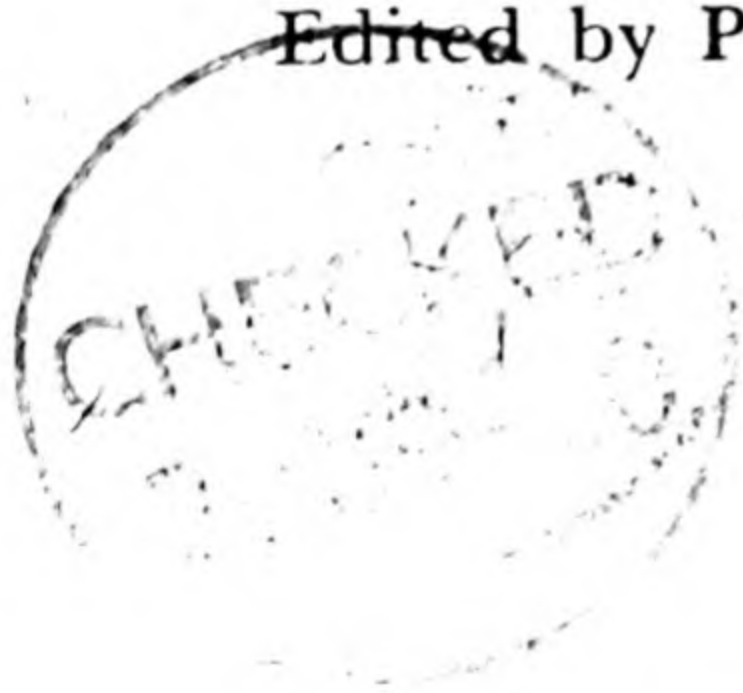
THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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HISTORIANS OF SIND
PART II

TARIKH-I TAHIRI

THIS work is named after the author, Mir Tahir Muhammad Nasyani, son of Saiyid Hasan, of Thatta. The author, his father, and grandfather, were intimately acquainted with the affairs of the Arghuns and Tarkhans, and were dependants of the members of the former family. Tahir Muhammad, indeed, dedicates his work to, and writes it at the instigation of, Shah Muhammad Beg 'Adil Khan, son of Shah Beg 'Adil Khan Arghun, governor of Kandahar. The *Tuhfatu-l kiram* styles Shah Beg a Tarkhan, not an Arghun, and states that it was to him that the *Tarikh-i Tahiri* was dedicated. (Vide "Early Arab Geographers")

The author, independent of what he says in his rambling preface of twenty pages, which is replete with the most fulsome adulation, gives us several incidental notices of himself and family in the course of his work.¹ We learn that in 1015 H. (1606 A.D.), when Kandahar was beleaguered by the Persians, he went to Thatta to complete his education, and that he was then twenty-five years old. He placed himself under Maulana Ishak, a celebrated teacher, who was well instructed in Sufyism by an attentive perusal of Shaikh Sa'di, Jami, Khakani, and Anwari.

His maternal grandfather, 'Umar Shah, and his son Daud Sehta, Chief of the Pargana of Durbela, afforded such effective aid to Humayun, in his flight from Shir Shah, that the Emperor wrote a document expressive of his satisfaction, and of his determination to reward their fidelity with a grant of their native district of Durbela, should he succeed in his enterprises and be restored to his throne. At the instigation of Mahmud Khan, the governor of Bhakkar, they were both put to death for this injudicious zeal; one being sewn up in a hide and thrown into the river from the battlements of Bhakkar; the other flayed alive, and his skin sent, stuffed with straw, to Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun. The family fled to Ahmadabad in

¹ See *Early Arab Geographers and Historians of Sind Part 1.*

Guzerat. The document above alluded to was unfortunately destroyed, when Mirza Jani Beg ordered Thatta to be fired on the approach of the imperial army. The author, nevertheless, hoped to meet with his reward, should it ever be his good fortune to be presented to the reigning Emperor Jahangir. In one part of his work he calls 'Umar Shah by the title of *Jam*, from which we may presume that he was a Samma. Daud, 'Umar's son, is also styled Sehta, one of the descendants of the Samma refugees, is spoken of as one of the Chiefs of Kach.

Tahir Muhammad informs us that, notwithstanding all the enquiries he made, he was not able to procure any work which dealt with the periods of history which he had undertaken to write. There might, perhaps, have been some written in the Hindi character, but on that point he was ignorant. This is disingenuous, for his early history must be derived from some written source, though he does not choose to declare what it was. He quotes a poem by Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari, and is, perhaps, indebted to his prose also, but to no great extent, for in describing the same events, our author is fuller, and his credulity induces him to indulge in strange anecdotes, which the other rejects. His later history, in which he is very copious, is derived not only from his father, who was himself an actor in some of the scenes which he describes, but from other eye-witnesses, as well as his own observations. His residence seems to have been chiefly at Durbela, but we hear of his being, not only at Kandahar and Thatta, as previously mentioned, but at Multan and Lahore; so that, for a Sindian, we may consider him what Froissart calls a "well-travelled knight."

The *Tarikh-i Tahiri* was completed in 1030 H. (1621 A.D.), in the fortieth year of the author's age. Its style is bad and confused, and occasionally ambitious. We are told that it is divided into ten chapters (*tabka*), but they are not numbered beyond the fourth, and only seven can be traced altogether. The first, consisting of sixteen pages, is devoted to the Sumra dynasty. The second, of ten pages, to the Samma dynasty. The third, of 30 pages, to the Arghuns. The fourth and all the others, comprising 172 pages, to the Tarkhans—so that it is evident that to them

he directs his chief attention, bringing their affairs down to the latest period, when Mirza Ghazi Beg was poisoned at Kandahar, in 1021 H. (1612 A.D.), and the power of the Tarkhans was brought to a close even as *Jagirdars*—a title they were suffered to retain after their entire loss of independence under Mirza Jani Beg. We have nothing on the subject of the Arab dominion in Sind, and the chapters upon the Sumras and Samma form no continuous narrative of their transactions. Even the later chapters are very deficient in dates, though there is no break in the history of the Arghuns and Tarkhans. Where dates are inserted they are not always correct.

Besides the present history, it would appear from one of the Extracts given below, that the author composed another work upon some of the Legends of Sind. The name of "Nasyani²" is not a patronymic, but, as we are informed in the *Tuhfatu-l kiram*, a mere poetical designation, assumed by the author. The same passage gives us also some information respecting his descendants.

This work is rare out of Sind, where it is procurable without much difficulty. The Amir of Khairpur and the Saiyids of Thatta have a copy. I have not met with it anywhere else in India, and I believe there is no copy in Europe. Size, quarto (12 × 9 inches) containing 254 pages, each of 17 lines.

EXTRACTS

The Destruction of Alor

From the year of the Hijri 700 (1300 A.D.), until 843 (1439 A.D.), that is to say, for a period of 143 years, the Hindu tribe of Sumra were the rulers of Sind; and that portion which is now flourishing was then a mere waste, owing to the scarcity of water in the Sind or Punjab river, which is known by the above name below Bhakkar.³ No water flowed towards those regions, and water is the very foun-

² Nasyání, the forgetful? or Nashyání, which signifies the drunken, or, a seeker of news?

³ *burwasita Kami ab-i-Sind yani Panjab ki ura az Bhakkar payan bi hamin mi-namand.*

dation of all prosperity. The capital of this people was the city of Muhammad Tur, which is now depopulated and is included in the *pargana* of Dirak. Not I alone but many others have beheld these ruins with astonishment. Numbers of the natives of that city, after its destruction, settled in the *pargana* of Sakura, which was peopled in the time of the Jams of Samma, and there they founded a village to which they also gave the name of Muhammad Tur.⁴ In this village resided many great men and *zamindars*, disciples of the Shaikh of Shaikhs and defender of the world, Makhdum Shaikh Bahau-d din (Zakariya) Mulla Khalifa Sindi, so well known in Hind, who sprang from them and that village. The cause of the ruin of the above-named city, and of its dependencies, which had flourished between nine hundred and a thousand years, was as follows:—Below the town of Alor flowed the river of the Panjab, which was indefinitely called by the three names of Hakra, Wahind, and Dahan, and by others—for its name changes at every village by which it flows. After fertilizing the land, the river pours its waters into the ocean.

Dalu Rai governed the country between the two above-mentioned cities (Muhammad Tur and Alor). He was a tyrant and an adulterer: every night he possessed himself of a maiden. From the merchants who brought their goods that way in boats from Hind to the port of Dewal,⁵ he levied a toll of half their property; traders thus suffered incalculable injury. At length, a certain merchant⁶ reached the place with a vast amount of goods, and was much astonished at this tyrant's proceedings. When the customs' officers perceived the valuable nature of his merchandise, and found him to be a traveller from distant parts, they resolved to exceed their usual demands. The merchant had also with him a handmaiden, young, and beautiful as the full-moon. When the impious tyrant was informed of this, he determined, according to his odi-

⁴ See Note upon Muhammad-Tur published in another volume.

⁵ Captain McMurdo places Dalú or Dillu Rái early in the second century of the Hijra.—Journ. R. A. S., Vol. I. p. 28.

⁶ The Tuhfatu-l kiram, calls him Saifu-l muluk, and says he was on his way to Mecca, and that when he returned thence, he lived and died somewhere about Déra Ghází Khán and Sítpur. It

ous habit, to get her into his possession. The traveller, who was a wise and God-fearing man, said to himself that it was impossible to escape from the tyrant with honour and without distress, and hence it would be better to make some bold effort; in which, by God's help, he might succeed, and which would stand recorded on the page of destiny until the day of judgment. He prayed for and obtained three days' grace to forward the amount of duties along with his beautiful damsel.

During this time he collected a number of skilful and expert artizans, men who excelled Farhad in piercing mountains, and could close a breach with a rampart like Alexander's. To these men he gave whatever they desired, and rewarded their labour with gold, jewels, and stuffs. His intention was to erect a strong embankment above⁷ the town of Alor, and turn the course of the waters towards Bhakkar. Night after night these strong and able workmen laboured to dig a new channel and erect an embankment. The river was thus turned from its old course and flowed towards Siwan and the Lakki Hills, with such force that the merchant was, by God's mercy, quickly carried with his ships and goods far away beyond the oppressor's reach. When the people of the tyrant's country awoke in the morning, instead of several fathoms of water, they found nothing but mud and muddy water. All were amazed, and informed their master of the mode of the merchant's escape, and of the ruin that had come on the country. He ordered them to turn the river into its old channel, but they all replied that it could not be done now that the water had flowed elsewhere. The Raja's regret and repentance were all too late. "When the evil is done, oh fool! what avails your regret? Stuff not cotton in your ears, but be alert—sleep not at the hour of action." In short the scarcity of water soon caused the grass and the fields to wither, and death laid its grasp on men and cattle, but the tyrant paused not in his evil career, until his crimes destroyed both himself and his people.

is added, that his handmaiden Jamíl or Badí'u-l-Jamál, bore him two sons, Ratta and Chhatta, whose tombs, with that of the father, stand near Ratta, which in olden times was a large city in Dalú Rái's territory, of which the vestiges still remain.

⁷ [The text says *zir qasbaye Alor*, but this is an obvious blunder.]

Destruction of Brahmanabad

It is related by old historians that this Dalu Rai had a brother called Chhata⁸ Amrani, whom it had pleased God to dispose, from his youth upwards, to virtue. Amrani often remonstrated with his brother against his evil ways, but without success; he, therefore, left his country and applied himself to the study of the Kuran. When, having learned the holy book by heart, he returned to his home, friends urged him much to marry; but he was displeased with their wicked ways, and therefore refused. His relatives repudiated and derided him, exclaiming that he had turned Turk, that is to say, Musulman, and would next be going to Mecca to marry the daughter of some great man there.

Amrani's star was in the ascendant, and his heart inclined to God, so their taunts took effect on him, and he resolved to proceed to the Kaa'ba. When he reached the place of his destination, he beheld a woman standing with a loaf in her hand. After he had looked at her several times the maiden perceived him and asked him what he sought in that town. He replied that by her means, he hoped to be able to read the Kuran. She told him that the daughter of a certain venerable man was much better acquainted than herself with the holy book, and was in the habit of teaching many young girls, and that if he changed his dress and attended upon her with the girls, he might obtain the wish of his heart. Amrani answered that all would be accomplished through her kindness. He made her a small present, and joined the scholars. After a time he became again perfect in the Kuran, when, one day, a woman came to see the teacher, who was also skilled in astrology. The visitor said: "I have a young daughter whom I wish to marry to a certain person; pray see if the match will prove a happy one; for if not, I will wed my daughter elsewhere."

The fates were consulted, a favourable answer was returned, and the woman departed. Chhata who,

⁸[The word is here and in a few other places written Jhata, but as frequently Chhata, and this is nearer the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, which has "Chhota." It is probably the Hindí word, and signifies that he was the younger brother.]

in woman's disguise, had been taught by the fair sage, without her knowing his sex, now said that, as she could ascertain other people's destiny, he begged she would also consult the stars on her own account, and find out who should be her husband. "This enquiry," she replied, "will be very pleasing to me; up to this moment I have never thought of what concerns myself." The fates were again consulted, and the answer which she delivered was: "a person called Chhata will come from Sind, and I shall be given unto him." Amrani asked if the person had as yet left Sind, and proceeded towards Mecca or not. She answered, that he had arrived in the city. "Where is he?" "In this house," was the reply, "and you are he." Chhata left off questioning and began to read.

The girl informed her mother of these events. The relatives gave their consent, and the two were united. Amrani dwelt there some time, after which he returned to his own country to Pain-wah where his brother ruled.⁹ Between Chhata and his wife Fatima, in their devotion to God, nothing was concealed, and they looked upon each other with fond affection. One day Chhata's brother sent him away on some business, with the intention of getting a look at his wife in his absence. This virtuous woman was in her bath, and there the wicked man saw her. At the same moment, Fatima and Chhata, who was far away, became cognizant of this fact. Chhata immediately returned, and, abandoning his relatives, left the country with his wife, and proclaimed that whoever remained in the city would ignominiously perish. The very night they left, destruction hovered over the city, but was kept off by the watching of an old widow, who was spinning. The second night they were saved by the watching of Gunigir,¹⁰ but on the third night, which was the time appointed for the destruction of those wicked people, the whole place was swallowed up by the earth,—men, buildings and all,—the only sign of them left was a minaret, which stands there to this day. Chhata Amrani and his wife Fatima

⁹ Or, more probably, "Bahmanwá;" in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* the place is named *Bhámhara*, or *Brahmánábád*. See "*Historians of Sind*"—Part 1, page 92.

¹⁰ [Gunigir. In the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám Gingiri*.]

reached in safety the town of Siwistan, which is now known as Siwan. There he passed his days in prayer and worship. When he left this transitory dwelling-place to seek a wished-for and eternal home beyond the chambers of death, as during his life-time, he had performed miracles, and his prayers had been granted, so was it still after his decease. Whoever approached his shrine obtained the wish of his heart. His tomb is to be found in the city of Siwan; many people flock to it on Fridays, and place full belief in its powers.

The Dynasty of Sumra

Be it known to wise and intelligent men who can solve knotty points, that the history of this ignorant Hindu tribe has been related by old chroniclers as follows:—“Every man of them considered himself a chief and leader, but 'Umar Sumra was their ruler. It is not known over how long a period his reign extended, but in all his years this chieftain, unworthy of his sacred name,¹¹ practised unworthy acts. He was in the habit of laying violent hands on the females of his subjects. Among other married women he seized a beautiful woman named Marui, who belonged to the tribe of the Maruis,¹² who resided near the forts of 'Umar-kot. She had been betrothed to a person named Phog,¹³ but was, by her parents, when her beauty had developed itself, united to another of her relatives. Phog laid a complaint before 'Umar,—“I have given up all hope,” said he, “of obtaining her, but she is well fitted for your own harem. If you could but once see her, you would never wish to part from her again.” This speech of that dweller in the desert induced the chieftain to change his dress, and to mount an active camel,¹⁴ fleet as the wind, on which he repaired to the woman's residence.

He was captivated at first sight, and remained there some

¹¹ *Umar Alluding of course to the Khalif' Umar.*

¹² *Wanderers of the desert.*

¹³ [The text has “Nababúk,” but Sir H. Elliot has substituted “Phog” in the translation. His authority for this change is not cited.]

¹⁴ [The text has *bara*, but immediately afterwards the animal is called *ushtur* so that a camel, not a horse, must be intended by the word.]

days. At length, finding an opportunity, he placed the woman on his own camel, and returned to the seat of his government. But all praise to the virtue and chastity of Marui, for though gold and jewels, robes and apparel were offered her, and though she was made to taste of severity and anger, nothing could induce her to listen to his proposals. "In what creed," said she, "is it considered lawful that we should, for the sake of a little brief authority and worldly riches, which avail us not when all is over, put aside the duty owing to a husband, and thus at last, heap infamy on our heads. The tenderness of her language took effect on the abductor; for a year he detained her and beheld her fidelity. He then sent for her husband and returned her to him, with as much gold and jewels as he could give, and told him of his wife's chastity. Doubt, however, remained in the husband's mind; he kept aloof from her, and constantly addressed reproaches to her. 'Umar was one day informed of this conduct, of the doubts which the husband retained of Mâruî's chastity, and the disgrace which was thus reflected on himself. An army was ordered to attack and plunder the tribe, but they fled on receipt of the news. When the fact became known, he ('Umar) said "Why does the husband of this chaste woman seek to distress her, and in suspicion of a wrong which has not been committed, why does he injure both her and his ruler, causing a personal and general scandal—instigating all this disturbance."

That paragon of fidelity, comforted the women of her family, and, strong in her own virtue, went to 'Umar and spoke as follows: "You are the lord of this country. If before this you had not conceived such designs, you would not have entailed such disgrace on yourself and on me; but, you have kept a man's wife confined for a twelvemonth in your own house, and after exposing her to suspicion, have sent her away. What wonder is there then that people, who know not right from wrong, should entertain doubts, and what wonder if her husband kill her through jealousy. The redress were worse than the fault itself, should you punish the oppressed family. Consider your own errors, be just, and say at whose door lies the blame." This was said with so much earnestness

that it took effect. 'Umar, ashamed of his misdeeds, recalled his army, and caused the husband to be brought to his presence, when he sought by an oath, according to the Hindu custom, to remove all doubt from his mind. But that pattern of excellence anticipated him, and urged that she was the proper person to take the oath, for thus the foul stain would be washed away from herself and from her whole family.

So it was settled that a fire should be kindled and an iron heated therein. As soon as the fire burned and flames like lightning issued from the iron, the woman raised it, and came out pure from the trial, and in the eyes of the Hindus all stain on her honour was removed. The thought now entered 'Umar's mind that it was not easy to clear himself of the guilt of the abduction. God is just; injustice pleaseth him not, and never has he, nor will he ever, disgrace any but the guilty. This cruel obstinate husband, thought he, has abased me in the eyes of the world; is it not better that I should pass through the fiery ordeal and truth be brought to the light of day? He did as resolved. Glory to God who maketh truth to triumph! Not a hair of his head or a thread of his garments was singed, and he issued scathless from the raging flames—which consume alike friend and foe. 'Umar and the relatives of the virtuous wife, whom idle talkers had caluminated and reviled, were now raised in public opinion; the doubts, which day and night had tormented the husband, vanished, and his unkind treatment ceased.¹⁵

*Account of this event as related in the presence of the
Emperor Akbar*

When the powerful Nawab Mirza Khan-i Khanan had made himself master of Tatta, he summoned to his presence the great men of the country, and amongst other selected the most noble of them, Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, 'Ariz of the Tarkhania, to be presented at the court of his majesty, and he proceeded thither with a party of Sindi friends. At an interview the conversation happened to turn upon Marui, which induced the Emperor to enquire

¹⁵ This popular legend is given in a different form by Lt. Burton, from the metrical version current in the country.—Sindh, pp. 107-113.

of Jani Beg the particulars of this story. The latter replied that he had with him a poet named Mukim, conversant with both Persian and Sindi, who was well acquainted with the whole story, and whom he would send for if permitted to do so. Mirza Jani Beg himself was perfectly informed of all the circumstances, but he wished to bring the poet to the notice of his majesty. The bard was introduced, but he knew so little of the case, that, contrary to the fact, he said the heroine had a child by that tyrant, misnamed 'Umar.¹⁶ His Highness was much displeased at this misrepresentation, and the bard withdrew crestfallen. Jani Beg then related the story correctly, and some of the auditors repeated verses in the Sindi language in praise of the Marui. The late Mir Saiyid Ma'sum Bhakkari, of blessed memory, has recorded in verse the story of Sassai and Pannu and called his work "Husn o Naz," (beauty and coquetry); Mir Abu-l Kasim, (son of Shah Abu-l Kasim, son of Shah Kasim Arghun) has likewise versified the story of Chanesar and Lila and called it "Chanesar ;"¹⁷ I also have written (these legends) in prose and named my work "Naz o Niyaz" (coquetry and supplication). May men of genius view it favourably !¹⁸

History of Ganga and 'Umar Sumra

I write for the information of men of enlightened minds, —friends to literature, and delighting in the sweets of learning. A maiden named Ganga, of the tribe of Tamim, had been betrothed to 'Umar. The latter happened to see her at a time when the spring of youth had not filled the cup of her beauty, and the unopened bud of her cheeks was as yet without fragrance. She did not please him, and his heart was averse to her, so he relinquished all thought of making her his wife, and gave permission that

¹⁶ In allusion to the Khalífa 'Umar, better known to us as Omar. It is to be observed that the author throughout spells the Hindú's name with an ain Umar. [Amarkot is also generally written 'Umarkot.]

¹⁷ The Tuhfatu-l Kiram says that Mir Tahir is here in error, the real author being Idráhi Bég.

¹⁸ The Tuhfatu-l Kiram says that Muhammad Tahir's Naz o Niyaz is in verse and relates to the story of Marui. Zamiri has written a poem of the same title.

she should be united to any one they chose. 'Umar Tamim, a relative of the girl's, and a companion of 'Umar Sumra, without whom the latter never drank (or eat), became her husband. After a few years, this unopened bud, fanned by the zephyr of youth, became a very stem of blooming roses. She imported such fragrance to the breeze, that fascination penetrated the core of every heart.

One day, when the washerman had put out her clothes to dry near the road, the chief happened to pass by the scented garments. Such perfume hung in the breeze that for miles it entered the brains of the wayfarers. The scent of the musk caused blood to flow from his nostrils, and he wondered whose garments these could be. He enquired of the washerman, and ascertained, after a good deal of trouble, as the man had been ordered not to mention the owner's name, that they belonged to a certain woman married to 'Umar Tamim, and whom his highness had formerly rejected. Longing and regret now took possession of his soul, and so great was his fascination that he proceeded to the woman's house, intending, if the master should not be within, to delight his eyes and heart with a glimpse of that heart-enthraling creature. The husband was not at home. Deceivers employ many stratagems, so 'Umar found nothing better than to pretend that he had discharged an arrow at some pigeons, and only entered the house to pick one up.

The fair lady, who knew nothing of all this, being suddenly disturbed, rose to screen herself from view, and enquired what the intruder sought, but the latter obtained what he had come for and departed. A dart of love from the bow of her eyebrows had pierced his heart and he writhed like a wounded snake. The love which had suddenly been implanted in the innermost recesses of his heart disturbed him so much that he threw himself madly on his couch, abandoned food, drink, and sleep, and spoke to no one. His ministers were much astonished at this conduct, but having learned the cause of it, they respectfully informed him that the difficulty could very easily be overcome; that he should be of good cheer and not grieve. The ministers agreed that it was necessary, by some means, to separate

the woman from her husband, and bring her to their master's palace. To further this scheme, it was settled by these godless men that 'Umar should make a show of more than usual cordiality and affection to that young man.

The husband was astonished at these unwonted demonstrations, and one day asked his confidential friends what could be the object of them. Being all in the plot, they answered that a wish seemed to have entered the chieftain's mind to give him his sister in marriage, and by this connection, bind him more closely to himself in the bonds of fraternity and love, for he was highly pleased with his services, and placed great reliance on him. 'Umar Tamim heedlessly believed this falsehood; he was transported with delight by these tidings, which ought to have saddened him, and he expanded like a rose, so that his robe could scarcely contain him. The simpleton dreamed not that his friends were foully conspiring to deprive him of his wife. One day the friends met. Wine, that source of so much evil, was administered in such quantities to the unhappy husband, who had not strength to bear it, that he quite lost all mastery over himself. The associates perceived that they would never find an opportunity more favourable for the execution of their designs, so in furtherance of their scheme, they spoke to this foolish and helpless being of that impossible marriage.

At length, he agreed that he would divorce his present wife, in order to obtain that higher object of his wishes; and he did so. The plotters having so far succeeded, now told him that this divorce alone was not sufficient, that he must offer the woman as tribute to 'Umar. The drunkard hesitated not to give away his cast-off wife. Then, as a finish to the business, he himself was turned out of the assembly, and his wife conveyed to the house of him who had instigated this vile proceeding. On the morrow, when the husband shook off the sleep of intoxication, he thought of his spouse, and remembered the sad events of the past day. Then, uttering cries of grief, he rent his garments, and proceeded to Dehli to lay a complaint before 'Alau-d din Sultan.

The people of this country relate, that when the husband laid his complaint before the Sultan, this guardian of justice sent that very night an order to 'Umar to appear before him, stating that if he came and satisfied the complainant, he might escape punishment, otherwise an avenging force should be sent to plunder and overrun the country, and his wives and children should fall a prey to the soldiery. 'Umar prepared to depart the moment the messenger arrived. After a journey of some days, he reached the royal presence, and made numerous offerings. When the complainant and defendant were confronted, the Sultan's anger rose to such a pitch that he caused the guilty man to be thrown into a prison to end his days, in order that his fate might be a salutary warning to all wicked doers. For a long time he suffered in prison, but at length obtained his liberty through the intercession of his friends, on the payment of a heavy fine, and by binding himself to pay an annual tribute. He now returned to Sind, and from that time the rulers of this country have been tributary to the kings of Hind. 'Umar soon forgot his imprisonment and sufferings, and stretched forth the hand of tyranny over the people of Samma, the ancient tenants of the soil. Many families were driven by his exactions to abandon the land of their birth and seek refuge in Kach,¹⁰ which lies between Guzerat and Sind and this land by God's mercy they have occupied to the present day.

The dynasty of Samma

Old story tellers relate that when God resolved to destroy the people of Sumra (who occupied the city of Muhammad Tur and its vicinity, where ruin had followed the erection of the *band* of Alor) so utterly that not a sign of them should be left in the land, he decreed that their lives should be passed in the commission of unworthy acts and of crimes. Young and old became intent on violence and mischief. They belonged to the Hindu faith, yet they ate the flesh of buffalos, although eating the flesh of the cow is held in abhorrence according to that religion. The labouring classes and landholders of the Sammas also held

¹⁰[The text has "Kanj."]

the same belief, yet never drank wine without partaking of a young buffalo calf. One of these animals was taken openly and forcibly by the Sumras from the house of a Samma at a time when the latter had gone out, and the wine cup passed freely. When the owner returned, his wife taunted him with what had occurred; "To-day," said she, "they have seized a young buffalo to roast, and to-morrow they will take away your women in the same disgraceful way. Either give us, your wives, freely to these men or quit the place." This person was a man of rank and honour; so collecting his friends and relatives, he raised a great cry and sallied forth. A number of the people of Sumra were assembled at the time; he fell on this body and killed several of them; then, packing up all his valuables, he set out for Kach with as many of his relatives as could accompany him.

They had hardly reached the Rann, or desert, which extends from the ocean between the countries of Sind and Guzerat, when a powerful army of Sumras overtook them and tried to pacify them, but the fugitives dreaded them too much to have any wish to return. Fighting commenced, and many fell on both sides. The fugitives nevertheless reached the land of Koch, which was occupied by the tribe of Chawara, and they settled there in the desert with their property. After a time, when they had ascertained who were the chiefs in those parts, they represented to them that they were numerous and had come there for protection, that they craved a portion of land to cultivate, the produce of which would suffice for their wants, and free the community from all expense on their account. A small tract of uncultivated land was given to them by the Chawaras under the conditions that whatever grain they grew thereon should be theirs, but that all the grass should be sent into the government forts, as the former suffice for them. The agreement was entered into, and the land was brought into cultivation.

It appears that finally the settlers became masters of the soil by the following stratagem. For some years after their immigration, they went on settling and cultivating the land faithfully, according to treaty; they sending the grass grown on their lands to the forts of the chiefs of this

country of desert and hills.²⁰ When they had got a firm footing and become thoroughly acquainted with the state of the country and the resources of its chiefs, it appeared to them that, if, with one accord, they managed their affairs with discretion, they might succeed in getting the upper hand. They therefore resolved to put into execution some carefully matured stratagem for this purpose. This was the plan : that in every cart-load of hay two armed men should be concealed and sent into the fortress. Five hundred loads formed the yearly contribution. This hay was now conveyed in that number of carts ; in each were concealed two armed men, and a third sat on the top ; so that about fifteen hundred men were all sent off together, and those who remained outside held themselves in readiness and listened for the shouts of the others. At the fort gate was always kept a learned astrologer, whose duty it was, from time to time, to warn the guards of coming events.

As soon as the leading carts reached the entrance, the astrologer discovered that raw meat was concealed in them and proclaimed it with loud cries. The guardians of the gate jumped up and drove their spears into the hay in such a manner that the points entered the breasts of the enterprising youths within. But, oh, the heroism they displayed ! As the spears were withdrawn they wiped the bloody points with their clothes, so that not a speck of blood appeared upon them ; and all the day that truthful soothsayer was disbelieved, no further search was made, and all the carts entered the fort. When night came on, these resolute men, both within and without the walls prepared for action as had been previously concerted. Sword in hand, those who were inside fell upon the commandant of the fort and slew him. They then beat the drums to announce their triumph. Their friends without, hearing the signal, and knowing all was right, rushed at the gate and smote every one of its defenders who had the bravery to resist them. So great was the carnage, that words cannot describe it.²¹

²⁰ *baru bawam dasht wa jabal.*

²¹ *The scene of this stratagem was Gúntrí, in Kachh, of which the*

Thus the country which lies along the sea became subject to the people of the Samma,²² and their descendants are dominant there to this day. Rai Bhara and Jam Sihta, the Rajas of both Great and Little Kach, are descended from the Samma tribe. Among these people the tika is conferred upon the Rai. When one of the Jams of Little Kach dies, another is appointed in his place, but the sovereignty and the tika are not bestowed upon him until such times as the Rai of Great Kach dies. When a successor has been appointed he is obeyed by all; and all those who assemble to appoint the Rai present to him horses, honorary dresses, and many other things, according to ancient custom. Whenever a well or a tank is dug in either of the divisions of Kach, the Chaawaras—formerly the masters of the soil, now the ryots—are consulted and brought to approve of the project before it is carried into execution.

Strange customs of the Tribes

Be it known to men of enlightened minds that these people had many strange customs, such as the strong branding the stamp of slavery upon the shoulders of the weak. As an instance of this, a man named Duda Sumra attempted to enslave his own brothers, and when any one of them resisted, sought means to kill him. Such was the prevailing stupidity of these people, that whenever they placed themselves in the barber's hands, they had the nails of their hands and feet extracted by the roots, and this violent process caused such distress, that they lost all recollection for a time. A sensible man one day enquired why they inflicted such tortures on themselves. They replied, that there was this wide difference between them and other people, that they did what others could not.²³ The clothes which they had once worn were never again put on. To wear them a second time would have been held highly improper. A woman who had

remarkable ruins are well worthy of a visit.—See Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Feb. 1838, p. 102.

²² *Respecting the Samma migration to this province, see Dr. Burnes' Hist. of Cutch, Introduction, pp. xi, xiv.*

²³ *The Tuhfatu-l Kirám ascribes to them a more probable answer, viz., that the chiefs alone did it to distinguish them from*

brought forth a child was no longer allowed to share her husband's bed.

At length, one of them, a fond and clever wife, becoming pregnant, resolved in her mind that, after the birth of the child, she would lose the society of her husband, and that she must therefore think of some means to convince him that childbirth did not render a female impure, and to banish all such ideas from his mind. This was her plan: whatever clothes her husband took off she gave to the washerman, with orders to wash them most carefully. One day the husband took a bath, and asked for cloths wherewith to dry his limbs. He was supplied with some of those which had been washed and put aside. These appeared to him so unusually soft, that he enquired what kind of fresh cloth it was. His wife told him, and he so much approved of what she had done, that he declared his intention of wearing washed clothes for the future. The wife, on hearing this, exclaimed that such also was the condition of women; why, then, should men cast them off? The husband abandoned both of these foolish practices, and all the tribe followed his example.

All that remain of them at the present day are good Muhammadans and God-fearing men; so much so, that Darwesh Daud, Main Hamul and Mian Ismail Sumra, who were among the chief men of the town of Akham, in the Pargana of Samawati, entertained five hundred students of the Kuran, in the college, feeding and clothing them all, for the love of God, at their own expense. The late Mirza Muhammad Baki Tarkhan, notwithstanding his parsimony and economy,²⁴ which will be described when I speak of him, gave away, in charity, the produce of his husbandry. His collectors once complained to him, that a certain darwesh, not content with having tilled every bit of land in the district, sought to appropriate all their lord's possessions to his own use. Find therefore, said they, some other employment for the present cultivators.

their inferiors. It is curious that Bîrûnî ascribes to Indian chiefs the Chinese practice of allowing their nails to grow so that it might be understood they had the means of living without manual labour.
M. Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l' Inde*, p. 288.

²⁴ *Amsak wa amaldari.*

The Mirza replied : "that he should till my lands is but little, were he to drive a plough over my head, I should deem it a favour." Fakirs, widows, and the poor were the recipients of his bounty. A well-provided table was at all hours spread for his guests,—but he himself constantly fasted. When the hour came to break the fast, a barley-loaf, without salt, constituted his only food. A guest coming to him one day, a sumptuous meal was ordered for him, but the great did not partake of it. "Why," asked the Mirza, "do you not like the food?" "I wish," replied the stranger, "to eat off the same plate with your majesty." "Oh, what happiness," exclaimed the latter. When evening came, he bid his guest to come and share with him the barley-loaf—that being all his meal. "Oh," said the man, "I thought your own meal would have been better than what you gave your guests; this was the cause of my indiscretion, but pray pardon me; I am satisfied to partake of the former repast." The host replied : "Yes, the dainty repast is best suited to your taste, the mere loaf is plenty for mine; for it is no light task to conquer the flesh and abjure the world—the world, that faithless creature, that slays her husband and devours her sons-in-law. No true man will give her a place in his heart. To do so is the act of the mean-spirited. Renounce the faithless harlot in the four extremities of the universe, and cleanse the skirt of your robe from all desire of her."

Religious men love not the world,
 For they seek not women.
 If you are bound in the chains of a woman,
 Boast not again of your manliness.
 Have you not read in the ancient book,
 What befel Husain and Hasan, owing to a woman?
 A woman, be she good or bad, should be thus treated:
 Press your foot upon her neck.

Depopulation of the country of the Sumras

When through the tyranny of Dalu Rai, the river of the town of Alor became dry, the passage of the river of the Punjab came to be made near Siwan, and that town, which is still flourishing, became populated. The want of water ruined the lands of the tribe of Sumra, and the tyranny

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of Duda Sumra drove many complaining to the Sultan Alau-d din, at Dehli. This monarch sent back with them a powerful army, under the command of the royal general named Salar. The men of Sumra prepared themselves to die, and sent off their children in charge of a minstrel, to be placed under the protection of Ilbra Ibrani. This Ibra was one of the very Sammas who had fled from the persecutions of the men of Sumra, and had made themselves masters of Kach in the manner which has been related above. It is a custom of these people to hold in high respect their minstrels, such as the Katriyas, the Charans, the Doms and the Marats(?). After the departure of their families, numerous engagements took place between the men of Sumra and the Sultan's army. Sahar Sultani, the Sumra commander, was slain in the field of battle, and the remainder sought safety in flight. The royal army advanced in pursuit of the women and children. From the capital, Muhammad Tur, to Kach they proceeded march by march, digging every night a deep trench round their camp, through fear of their foes.²⁵ Such was the extent of these trenches, that, to this day, great pools still remain. When they reached the confines of Kach, Ibra Samma, the ruler of the country, fought stoutly in defence of the children and fugitives, but fell at last in the field. The women, whose countenances no stranger had ever beheld, were now surrounded on all sides. These virtuous women saw that the royal army had come to carry them into captivity, and that there was no refuge for them but in God's mercy; then, raising their hands in supplication, they exclaimed: "We have no other help, oh God! but in thee. Cause this mountain to protect us, poor helpless creatures, and save us from the hands of our cruel enemies." The prayer of these women was heard by Him, the nearest and dearest friend: the rock burst asunder, and showed openings, through which they all entered, and before the enemy could reach the spot they were all hidden; but fragments of their garments remained without, showing where they had passed. The pursuers were struck with awe, and retraced their steps. That mountain, and traces (of this event) may be seen to

²⁵ *Az bim ur zamindar.*

this day, in the land of Kach. In short, as no man was left in Sind, among the Sumras, of sufficient power to govern the country, the Samma people set to work to cultivate new territories on another part of the river.

The Sammas, after the expulsion of the tribe of Sumra, found the town of Samui-abad

After the destruction of the power of the above-named tribe the dynasty of the Samma ruled from the beginning of the year 843 H. (1439 A.D.) until the date of the total ruin of Sind.²⁶ The Samma people, who had been subject to the Sumras in the days of their rule, founded a town and fort below the Makali mountain. The former they called Samui,²⁷ and the latter Taghurabad, of which Jam Taghur had laid the foundation, but had left unfinished.²⁸ Other towns and villages, still flourishing, were also built by them,—but the spots cultivated during the dominion of the former masters of the soil soon ran to waste for want of water. Lands hitherto barren, were now carefully cultivated; there was hardly a span of ground untilled. The divisions into *subas* and *parganas*, which are maintained to the present day in the province of Tatta, were made by these people. When the labour and skill of each individual had brought the land to this state of prosperity, Jam Nanda bin Babiniya was acknowledged by all, great and small, as their chief, and received the title of Jam, which is the name of honour among these people. Such splendour spread over what had been but dreary solitudes, that it seemed as if a new world had sprung into existence.

Before his time, there was nothing worthy of being recorded, but his reign was remarkable for its

²⁶ The text says 849 H. (1445 A.D.), but it was stated above that the Sumra dynasty closed in 843 H. And again at p. 51 of the original, it is stated that the Samma dynasty lasted 84 years, closing with the establishment of Sháh Husain Arghún's power in 927 H. (1521 A.D.), the invasion of his father in 921 H. counting for nothing. We must, therefore, necessarily assume 843 H. to be the correct reading, incorrect as it is in fact.

²⁷ [The name is here written "Sái."]

²⁸ Taghurábád is in other works called Tughlikábád.

justice and an increase of Muhammadanism. I have omitted none of the events which occurred in his reign and in after years, as they have been related to me by old residents of those parts. This chieftain passed his days and nights in devotion. He permitted no one man to tyrannise over another; the poor were so happy that all the day long his name was on their lips. Peace and security prevailed to such an extent, that never was this prince called upon to ride forth to battle, and never did a foe take the field against him. When, in the morning, he went, as was his custom, to his stables to look at his horses, he would caress them, kiss their feet, and exclaim: "Heaven forbid that an invader approach my dominions, or that it ever be my fate to saddle these animals, and engage in war! May God keep every one happy in his place!"

The foundation of Tatta

After he had dwelt some time in the city of Sai, the thought entered his mind to build, at some auspicious moment, a new town, where happiness might remain for ever. Brahmans and astrologers having settled a lucky day, and having sought a spot in the neighbourhood of Samui, they selected an eligible place, where now stands the city of Tatta, and there, with the assent of the Jam, the foundation was laid. A division of the land having been made, mansions and houses were constructed. In truth, at such a fortunate moment was the foundation of this place laid, that trouble and affliction have never visited its inhabitants. Contented with what they possess, they carry on their affairs in luxury and ease. The cheerfulness and happiness which reigns among these people has never yet been, nor ever will be found elsewhere. Each month has several *I'ds* for them; the first Friday after the new moon, they call in their Sindi language, *Mah-pahra Jum'a*. Such a crowd of men and women flock, on this day, to the Makali mountain, that there is scarce room to stand. It has become a custom, among many classes, to consider the similar festival of *Mah-pahra Samar*—or the first Monday in each month—a great day for making pilgrimages. The pleasure of visiting each other, induces them to go in large parties, taking with them abundance of sweet river water

and food such as they can afford. The day is spent in amusements, and visits to the shrines. The reason why they take water with them is, that the rain-water found in the tanks contiguous to the tombs is brackish, owing to the nitrous nature of the soil, and consequently, though fit for oblations, is not fit to drink.

When evening puts a close to these pleasures, they seek their own abode. Besides the shrine of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Patta, there are some ten or twelve other places, where darweshes perform their dance. These excitable men often work themselves into such a state of holy ecstasy, that they cast themselves on the rocks of the mountain of Makali; but by the blessing of their learned doctors and teachers, no harm befalls them. This custom, however much opposed to the laws of Islam, has been transmitted from generation to generation, and all the attempts of wise teachers and just governors have never succeeded in putting a stop to it. More wonderful still, is the fact that, during the rainy months, only a few showers fall on the mountain. At its summit is a pond, which they call "*Kira tal*," or sweet tank; so long as the water of the heavens fills it, men and women of all classes, Hindus and Musulmans, crowd there from morning till night; there they cook their meals, and feast. What 'id, what wedding can ever boast of so numerous an attendance? He alone, who has seen and tasted of these pleasures, can understand this! The custom has long prevailed among these people, and what time has sanctioned they never relinquish. Other nations possess greater wealth, and greater skill; but such light-heartedness and contentment, as to labour for one day and repose for the rest of the week, to have but moderate desires and enjoy boundless ease, this has been reserved for the people of Tatta alone.

Elevation of Darya Khan by Jam Nanda, who had purchased him from Lakzhir

When Jam Nanda, son of Babiniya had to the gratification of his friends, become the occupant of the throne of Tatta, he embellished the new city and ruled with so much justice and moderation that every citizen found happiness at his own hearth.

"That spot is Elysium where oppression comes not
Where no one interferes with another."

One day he went out to hunt, taking with him his minister Lakzhir.²⁹ The latter had with him a young slave named Kabula,, to whom was entrusted the care of his master's drinking-water. This boy was in reality the son of a Saiyid, but having fallen into captivity, he had been purchased by the minister. The Jam, becoming thirsty during the chase, called for water. His own water-carrier not being on the spot, the minister ordered his boy to fill a cup for the king. The lad, young in years but old in wisdom, filled the cup and threw in it some small blades of grass. The Jam put down the cup, and asked him what grass had to do in drinking water. The slave replied: "I saw your highness was very thirsty, and I feared lest you should drink too large a quantity and suffer from it in riding; I therefore put in the water these small obstacles, that you might drink in moderation." There was nothing so wonderful in this, but the boy's destiny befriended him, and the Jam was much pleased. He took Kabula from the minister and made him one of his personal attendants. Day by day his affection for the youth increased, and finding him possessed of sufficient abilities to administer the affairs of the kingdom, or even to govern one, he soon conferred upon him the title of Mubarak Khan and employed him in all difficult matters. He loved him better than his own children and relatives. The Jam had many good men around him, such as Wazir Dilshad, who in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.) carried his victorious arms from Tatta as far as the city of U'ch, yet Mubarak carried off from all of them the ball of good fortune, and was honoured by the king with the management of the affairs of the State in preference to his own son, Jam Firoz. He brought the country, from Multan to the borders of Kandahar and from Kach to Makran, into such subjection, that if at midnight one of his officers carried an order to any of the *Zamindars* and *Bumiyas* of these territories, it was instantly and gratefully obeyed. Such was the terror of his name in these turbulent pro-

²⁹ The *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* is doubtful about the real name, saying it is "*Lahakdir*," or "*Lahgir*."

vinces, that a pregnant woman miscarried if she heard of his approach. So far had spread the fame and dread of his incursions, that the words—"Silence, the terrible chieftain is coming," were enough to stop the crying of a wayward child.³⁰

When at length, after a reign of seventy-three years, Jam Nanda passed from this perishable world to the abodes of immortality, he confided the care of the kingdom, of his treasures, his family, and his son Jam Firoz, to Darya Khan. "The management of the affairs of this kingdom," said the dying ruler, "devolves on thee. Discharge thy duty to Jam Firoz with zeal and self devotion."³¹

* * * * *

Sack and burning of Thatta³² by the Firingis

In the year 973 H. (1565 A.D.,) near the end of his life, Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, proceeded with his son, Mirza Muhammad Kaki, in the direction of Bhakkar. As they drew near the town of Durbela, a dependency of Bhakkar, Mahmud Khan, having strengthened his stronghold, sent forth his army to meet them, for, thought he, what breach of contract is this? They bring an army into my territory! What can be their object? It was the intention of Muhammad Baki, to detach the *Parganah* of Durbela, from the province of Bhakkar, and to incorporate it in that of Siwan; but he was frustrated in this design by the army of Mahmud Khan, which was powerful, and was everywhere prepared for fight. Blood had not yet been spilled, when, suddenly, news came from Thatta, that the Firingis had passed Lahori Bandar, and attacked the city. The gates were closed, said the despatch; if the army returned without delay, the place would be delivered; otherwise,

³⁰ See elsewhere.

³¹ The author does not distinctly inform us that Daryá Khán was the same person as Mubárák Khán, but the heading of the section implies that he was, and we are explicitly told so in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. Mír M'ásúm and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* say that Daryá Khán was the Jám's adopted son. *Firishta* calls him a relation of the Jám's, and speaks of Mubárák Khán and Daryá Khan as two individuals.

³² [The author has hitherto used the Persian form "Tatta."]

the enemy was strong, and would effect his object. This intelligence caused the Mirza to desist from prosecuting the quarrel any further. Leaving the country under the rule of the Khan, he speedily embarked in his boats, and departed. Before he could arrive, the Firingis had sacked the city, and filled it with fire and slaughter. Many of the inhabitants had found an asylum in the Jama' Masjid of Mir Farrukh Arghun, which they quitted, on hearing of the Mirza's approach. The mode of the Firingis coming was as follows :—Between the town of Thatta and Lahori Bandar is a distance of two days journey—both by land and by water ; beyond this, it is another day's march to the sea.

There is a small channel, (called *nar* in the language of Thatta), communicating with the port ; it is in some places about ten *tanabs* wide, in others, something more. It is unfordable. Between the port and the ocean there is but one inhabited spot, called Sui Miani. Here a guard belonging to the *Mir Bandar*, or port-master, with a loaded piece of ordnance, is always stationed. Whenever a ship enters the creek, it intimates its approach by firing a gun, which is responded to by the guard-house, in order, by that signal, to inform the people at the port, of the arrival of a strange vessel. These, again, instantly send word of its arrival to the merchants of Thatta, and then embarking on boats, repair to the place where the guard is posted. Ere they reach it, those on the look-out have already enquired into the nature of the ship. Every vessel and trader must undergo this questioning. All concerned in the business, now go in their boats, (*ghrabs*) to the mouth of the creek. If the ship belong to the port it is allowed to move up and anchor under Lahori Bandar ; if it belong to some other port, it can go no further, its cargo is transferred into boats, and forwarded to the city. To be brief, when these Firingi traders had got so far, and learned that the king of the country was away on a distant expedition, they felt that no serious obstacle could be made to their advance. The *Mir Bandar* wished to enforce the regulations, but he was plainly told by the foreigners that they had no intention of staying at the Bandar, but that they intended

to proceed on to Thatta, in the small boats (*ghrabs*) in which they had come. There they would take some relaxation, sell their goods, buy others, and then return. The ill-provided governor, unable to resist them by force, for their plans had been well laid, was fain to give in; so, passing beyond the Bandar, the Firingis moved in boats, up the river Sind towards Thatta, plundering as they went all the habitations on the banks. The ruler of the country being away, no one had sufficient power to arrest the progress of the invaders. They reached the city unmolested; but here the garrison, left by the Mirza, defended the place with the greatest gallantry. A spirited contest with artillery took place on the banks of the river. In the end the defenders were overpowered; the enemy penetrated the city, and had made themselves fully masters of it, when the Mirza arrived in all haste. As soon as they heard of his being near, with a powerful army, they loaded their boats with as much spoil as they could contain, and withdrew.³³

The Mirza, who had previously laid the foundation of a citadel for protection against the Arghuns, now deemed it necessary to encircle his palace and the whole city, with fortifications.

His reign ended with his life in the year 984 H. (1576 A.D.) His wealth and kingdom passed into the hands of his son—Muhammad Baki.

Extermination of the principal Inhabitants of Thatta

Mirza Muhammad Baki ruled with a strong hand, and ruin fell upon the houses and property of the people. No one dared to oppose his improper proceedings. He did not consider it expedient, that any one with pretensions to eminence, learning, or genius, should be left in undisturbed tranquillity. Nobles and plebeians, men of rank, and men without rank, *Saiyids*, *Shaikhs*, *Kazis* and Judges, were all driven from their time-honoured abodes, and ordered to dwell without the city, as the Mirza was of opinion that they were disaffected. To the eldest son of Miyan Saiyid 'Ali, although married to the daughter of Muhammad's brother, Mirza Salih, no more leniency

³³ See further elsewhere on the subject of the Portuguese proceedings.

was shown; he experienced the same treatment as the rest. Tyranny became the rule. Of the travellers from all parts who passed through the country, those whom he deemed worthy of notice were summoned to his presence. So affably were they received, and such the apparent kindness shown to them, that it served as a balm to the weariness of travel. The beguiled stranger was deluded into the belief, that, in the wide world, there could not exist so benevolent a patron to travellers. When the visitors were preparing to depart, the Mirza would say to his *Mir Bahr*, or superintendent of his Boat Department, that, as the breezes of his kingdom were soft and balmy, and river-excursions tended to cheerfulness, he must place a handsome boat at their disposal. As soon as they had been thus politely enticed into the middle of the stream, a plank was taken out of the bottom of the boat, and the unhappy travellers were drowned. This was done to prevent the chance of anyone talking of this favoured land elsewhere, so that the country, which had required such labour and pains to subdue, should find another conqueror.

Any poor traveller, not considered fit to appear in the presence, was simply put to death.³⁴ Such was the meanness of this prince, that, only once a week, on Thursdays, was a meal prepared in the *Diwankhana*; beyond this, he gave away nothing. If he heard of any person living generously in his own house, it mattered not whether he were a relative or otherwise, a citizen or a soldier, he laid the hand of tyranny on his possessions, nor withdrew it so long as a thing was left to take. Cunning showed itself in every word he spoke. Seated in the audience-tent, hardly a moment passed, but he said to his nobles: "Bring me gold, bring me grain; let this be your sole occupation, for these form the basis of power." The privations which he had formerly endured led him to heap treasure upon treasure, and grain upon grain. Not a

³⁴ Several other instances of this wretch's cruelty are recorded in the *Tārīkh-i Tāhirī*. He delighted in eradicating beards, slitting ears, cutting off women's breasts, and trampling men to death under elephants; until at length both Musulmans and Hindús prayed to be delivered from his tyranny. [According to this author he died by his own hand.]

corner of the citadel of Thatta but was filled with rice. Often the grain got clotted, and the heat arising therefrom occasioned spontaneous combustion, but the Mirza would not have it removed from the fort, nor allow it to be given away. At harvest-time he held a revenue audit, and collecting all his dependents, he paid them, according to their dues, by assignments, partly in grain and partly in money.

At length, one day his officers respectfully informed him that the fort was so full of old and new grain, that no room could be found for the produce of the coming harvest. The grain was getting clotted and burnt, so that it was best to assist the people with it, for, by this means, something would be saved at all events. The Mirza replied, that they should have his answer on the morrow. During the night, he ordered some loaves to be made of clay. When the nobles came in the morning to pay their respects, the Mirza ordered the cloth to be spread, and, contrary to custom, invited them to eat. They screwed up their courage, and wondered what evil was impending. For any officer of the state who incurred the ruler's displeasure was usually cut into pieces, which were placed in dishes, and carefully sent to his officers' houses, as a warning, to keep up a perpetual dread of his punishment. As the wondering and terrified nobles removed the dish covers, and beheld the strange-looking loaves laid out for the woeful meal, they cast glances from one to another, as if to say, what can this mean? Their host asked why they did not partake of the food before them. "You have all I can give you," said he; "perchance you are wealthy men, and do not like my simple fare." Impelled by fear, some of the ministers took the burnt rice-loaves. The Mirza angrily enquired why they did not also partake of the other loaves. They replied: "Sire, your prosperity and wisdom are great: but to eat clay is difficult. In his fierce anger he became abusive, and exclaimed, "Oh! ye simpletons, how long will your wisdom ensure the welfare of my kingdom? Useless grain may at times render good service, for is it not better than clay? It may serve as food for the maintenance of life. Of what good are you, since the mere sight of clay-bread

has half killed you ! and you give me unsuitable advice ! Have you not heard, how, when Humayun came into this country, and Mirza Shah Husain Arghun laid waste the whole land, and gave orders for the sowing of grain,³⁵ what hunger and misery were endured ; how raw hides and old skins were cooked in hot water and eaten ?”³⁶

These are facts :—It is indeed related that, at the time of the Emperor's flight and the devastation of the country by the Mizra, extreme misery drove the men of Sind to eat their own kind. A man, having lost a cow, went with some friends to seek for it. They reached a plain where some youths, who had just come there, had placed a pot on a fire and were cooking meat. The owner of the cow and his friends took these people for thieves, and felt convinced that they were cooking some portion of the lost animal, which they had stolen. So they seized and bound them, asking what meat they were preparing, and whence they had procured it. These youths could not answer for fear, but, when the whip was applied, they found power to say that they were brothers and once had a mother. They had been dreadfully pinched with hunger.

The mother, in her love, said that death was preferable to such an existence. She could not bear to see her children perish before her eyes, and besought them to kill her and satisfy the cravings of their hunger. They refrained as long as they could from such a cruel expedient, but at length, unable to contain themselves, they killed their mother, and this was her flesh in the pot. The story was not believed. The villagers said, that before they would credit it, their own eyes must have some proof. The unhappy brothers took their captors to the spot where the entrails had been thrown ; this sight caused them to be more firmly bound, for the villagers maintained that some other person must have been sacrificed to their cravings, and that this was not their mother. The wretched lads supplicated and swore in vain; their pun-

³⁵ *hukm kashtar ghalla namudeh bud.*

³⁶ The author has previously given an account of this famine at page 61 of the original, where he deals with this particular period of Sind history.

ishment began, and the blows they received drew forth screams and lamentations. Then suddenly those entrails moved rapidly from the spot where they lay, and curled themselves around the feet of their tormentors. This was a warning. Suspicion at once fled before this miracle. What could it portend? An old man of the party spoke : —“These youths told us the truth. How great is the tender love of a mother, since even after death her remains come and cling to your feet pleading for the deliverance of her offspring !”

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*The Mirza sends his daughter, Sindi Begam, to
the Emperor*

When the possession of the province of Bhakkar had been secured to the Emperor, by the valour of Mujahid Ghazi, the relatives of Mahmud Khan became favourites with him. Mirza Muhammad Baki—who had, even before this event, entertained most extravagant fears for his own dominions—resolved to strengthen the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to the monarch. The Mulla, whom I have previously mentioned, related to me, that he was one day secretly sent for by the Mirza, who addressed him as follows :—“I have often thought, and still think, that Hazrat Jalalu-d din Akbar Shah is a mighty monarch. The pettiest of his officers—Mujahid—with only fifty horsemen, has overcome Mahmud Khan Kokaltash, a man who can boast of an iron frame, and of strength equal to that of Isfandiyar, who possesses, moreover, a strong fortress, situate between two wide rivers. What if the Emperor should send an army in this direction? Desolation would spread over this peaceful land! The province of Bhakkar has been, to this time, a solid barrier against his encroachments, but it is so no longer. It will be wise, ere an army march hither, to send the Begam, accompanied by some of the chief men of this country, to wait upon the Emperor. Such a union may perhaps preserve us from the grasp of these fierce fire-eating warriors. What think you of this plan?” Being entirely and sincerely devoted to the Mirza, the Mulla replied, that

this vain proposal would certainly be attributed to want of courage and manliness.

This speech proving anything but agreeable, the chieftain drew his sword, and advanced angrily towards the speaker, asking, how he dared to use such disrespectful language to him? The Mulla replied, with sincere feeling, that the Mirza was at liberty to kill him, but that he had spoken advisedly. "Did his lord suppose the Emperor had any thought of him? What if the maiden were so little liked, as to be excluded from the royal harem, and sent back again! What shame, what dishonour would be the result! Would the prince, for the sake of a kingdom, bring disgrace upon his whole family." At these words, the Mirza's anger flashed like lightning; he grew restless as quicksilver, and foaming at the mouth, he exclaimed: Remove this wretch from before my eyes, lest I shed his blood this very day." As the Mulla withdrew from his presence, he unburdened his mind of what still remained there. "To represent the true state of a case was," he said, "the duty of a loyal servant. He had incurred his master's anger by so doing, but, even in this he felt himself happy and honoured. What imported it to him, if the Emperor sent back the princess! What recked he, if he gave her away to one of his favourites, better men than the Mirza himself! You, he exclaimed, are a prince. You know no law but your own will: do that which shall be most pleasing to you." This advice, bitter withal, was heard, but not heeded.

The opinion of other friends, and his own prevailed. That light of the eyes was sent to the Imperial court, escorted by Saiyid Jalal, son of 'Aii Shirazi, and son-in-law of Mirza Salih, Muhammad Baki's own brother, and by Khawaja Mir Beg Diwan, provided with rich presents, and a suitable dowry. Having reached the Emperor's presence, the messengers kissed his feet, and displayed to view what they had brought. The valuables were then made over to the treasurer, but that most precious gem of all, that paragon of virtue, was introduced into the seraglio. There, the powerful monarch, prince of all things, cast but once a momentary glance on the countenance of this fair and nobly-born maiden, after which he would not see her

again. He said to himself, that the daughter of Muhammad Baki was not³⁷ of a good disposition, and that he would send her to some other person's harem. Some Arghuns, of the same descent as the Begam, and who had sought to escape from death at the emperor's court endeavoured, notwithstanding her father's and brothers' enmity, to avert an event which would, they thought, lower the dignity of their family. In defence of the honour and good name of their kinswoman, they represented to the Emperor, that never, to that day, had any member of their house experienced such unkind treatment from former rulers. Let the monarch of the world honour them with his universal benevolence, and send back the maiden to that wretch athirst for the blood of his brethren—who, if the monarch acceded to their wishes, would be under an obligation to them. The order of the Emperor, irresistible as the decree of fate, went forth, that Sindi Begam should be sent back to her father at Thatta.

How Sindi Begam returned from the Emperor's court to her Father's

At the time the Emperor was taking leave of the Begam, he ordered an elephant for her use, and bid her return to her father, whose ancestors, from father to son, had been vassals of the crown. He also added, that small tract of land had been assigned to the princess; who, he hoped, would, at the appointed hour of prayer, pray for his welfare and the increase of his prosperity. The party left. A despatch had already been forwarded to the Mirza, in which all these events had been detailed. He might, it was said, consider them as arrived. They had been placed in most critical circumstances, but providence had vouchsafed to preserve his name from disgrace. The Mulla relates that he was sent for by the Mirza, who threw him the document itself, saying: "Read this sad news; what you foretold has come true." He perused the despatch of the nobles escorting the Begam, and found it was even so. He said, "Peace be with you, oh mighty lord! bow down your head humbly before the One incomparable Being;

³⁷ [The negative is wanting in Sir H. Elliot's MS. *dukhtar khub khoyi ast.*]

render thanks unto God, who has vouchsafed to maintain your honour, and be grateful to your blood-thirsty brethren, the Arghuns, as long as you live. Be kind to those of them still left here, and thus dispel the old enmity subsisting between you. The Mirza, rendered wise and devout at length, was pleased with this speech, and said a few words which he deemed appropriate in thanksgiving. He also sent epistles to the Arghuns, wherever they could be heard of, calling upon them to lose no time in returning; and promising that compensation for their former sufferings should be afforded them to the utmost of their wishes. Some of them were slow to return, being doubtful of the chief's intentions; others, in whose hearts still lived the recollections of their fatherland, were content to brave even death. The excessive kindness they experienced proved a balm to the wounds of past persecutions, and surpassed their expectations.

About this time the *Jagirdars* of the province of Bhakkar, owing to the Emperor's approach, resolved to send their army into the province of Siwan. This territory often suffered from their depredations, but they now sought to take it from the Mirza. Fat'h Khan, a slave, ruled that province, but he had made a Hindu called Juna his agent; and to any person wishing to address him on affairs of the State, he stupidly said: "I know nothing of this: go to Juna." His son Abu-l Fat'h led a most dissipated life. He clothed his companions in female apparel, with bracelets on their arms and kept them hidden in his own abode. He would not eat of food on which a fly had lighted. His associates were usually made to bring many kinds of dishes, and by this means, he plundered them. From the 13th to the 16th of every month his friends were called together, and the time was spent in debauchery. Whole nights passed in the enjoyment of sweetmeats, fruit, and wine; he gave presents to his guests and attendants. But of all his absurdities this was the greatest: if a flight of birds happened to be pointed out to him, he commenced counting them, throwing in the air either a *lari*³⁸ or a Firingi gold coin as each passed by.

³⁸ A silver coin.

In short, as this miserable state of things prevailed, the Mirza resolved, in order to put a stop to it, to remain himself at the head of affairs in the capital, and send away his children to the frontier and the provinces.

Arrival of Nawwab Mirza Khan, in Siwan, and his wonder at the Lakki mountain

When the illustrious Khan, leaving Bhakkar behind him, arrived in Siwan, his first thought was to invest and capture the fort before proceeding any further; but, after-consideration showed him that no substantial benefit could accrue from the possession of a few mud walls, until both the capital Thatta and the ruler of the country were in his hands. The root is the support, not the branches. The Nawwab thought it best to leave a detachment behind and move onwards in person with the remainder. This plan was carried into execution. Leaving under his officers some ships which he considered equal to the destruction of the fort, the Khan marched against Mirza Jani Beb.

When he drew near the Lakki mountain, which wise men hold to be the key of the country, what a sight opened upon him. From the river Sind, stretching away towards the setting sun, rose the above-named mountain, its summits high as the star Aiyuk, and along the face of it ran a path narrower than a hair. Those who pass over climb like a string of ants. If ten resolute men defended this passage, not the world combined could dislodge them, without suffering severely from the stones they could throw down. Adjoining these mountains are many others, in which dwell the tribes of the Buluch and Nahmrui, of the Jokiya and Jat, extending as far as Kich (Kiz?) and Makran. To the eastward of the river are the Mawas and the Samija tribes, spread as far as the sand-hills of Amarkot; and these are men who have never acknowledged a master. For an army to pass in either of these directions is impracticable. The Nawwab made enquiries about the country and was greatly troubled with what he heard, for if an ambuscade were laid in the valley it would be exceedingly difficult for him to proceed, this being the key of the whole country. Just as orders had been issued for this post to be fortified (as by this means, and by well-

laid plans, a secure advance might be made) it was discovered that the enemy had taken no measures to defend the pass. The Khan was delighted, and exclaimed that the star of the monarch of the world had indeed outshone that of these people since they neglected to make a stand in so formidable a position; of a certainty now the country had passed away from their hands. When this saying reached the ears of the Mirza (Jani Beg), keen indeed was his regret for the neglect he and his counsellors had been guilty of. "Truly," said he, "have we committed a great fault of generalship. In short, the Khan advanced without meeting with any obstacle, and, in presence of the Mirza, threw up an intrenchment and constructed batteries. Morning and evening, valiant, lion-hearted youths, worthy descendants of Mars, came forth from both sides. With such activity did destiny send forth death to do its work in the field, that no symptom of backwardness appeared there; energy filled every breast, as the warriors strove their utmost. The happy star of the Emperor, and his own genius, inspired the Nawwab to send detachments against various places in the same way that he had encompassed Mirza Jani Beg and the fort of Siwan. Shah Beg Khan was selected to act against the fort of Shahgar, in the province of Nasrpur, where resided Abu-l Kasim. Another party of veterans was told off to march into the Jagir country, against the fort of Nirankot. In this war, for every province of the country a force was appointed, although it was not despatched.

Mirza Jani Beg Sultan made this agreement with his soldiers, that every one of them who should bring in an enemy's head should receive 500 *gabars*, every one of them worth twelve *miri's*, called in the Mirza's time, *postanis*, of which seventy-two went to one *tanka*. The poor people of Sind, already prepared to give their lives for their lord, were pleased with this show of kindness, and went out daily to bring in heads or lose their own. This style of warfare continued for several months. Giriya, the Hindu, who well knew how matters stood, and the state of the treasury, and had a regard to future exigencies, gradually reduced the reward from 500 to fifty *gabars*. Even for this small sum, the starving people were content to throw

themselves without hesitation against the scimitars of the foe. The greater number fell in these contests, and the treasury became empty, so that day by day, the state of the people and of the country grew worse. Mirza Jani Beg found his only safety in protracting the struggle, and sent forth his young men on all sides to distract the enemy.

Hearing that treasure was on its way by land to the Nawwab Khan's camp, he sent Abu-l Kasim, son of Shah Kasim Arghun, with a body of spirited youths, Moghals and Sindis, to attack it. This chieftain, when he drew near the convoy, about the middle of the night, hid himself with his men, and sent a small party to fall upon the enemy's rear with a great clamour. The enemy all turned against these men, but Abu-l Kasim, with the remainder, entered their camp, carried off the treasure, and slew the foremost of the foe. Sultan Khusru Charkas likewise attacked them with his boats, according to a previously concocted scheme, by which a body of picked men was to remain on board, whilst another advanced by land. The Nawwab also had made suitable dispositions. The Mirza's chieftains, who were anxious for Khusru's defeat, sent the armed force in the boats, but kept back the party which had been selected for the land attack. The hostile fleets drew up in the opposite lines, and a discharge of cannons and muskets, shells, and rockets, wheels, and every kind of fire missiles commenced on both sides. The scattering flames and sparks shone on the water like a fiery mountain, and such clouds of smoke ascended, that the vaulted heavens became as it were the roof of a furnace. The sun sheltered itself in the smoke from the fierceness of the heat, and was eclipsed. Sight could not pierce the thick clouds, and breath failed from the density of the atmosphere. At length the boats ran foul of each other. The rings and grapnels, which were made in order to drag away the enemy's boats, now began to be used. So violent a struggle ensued, that the waves were crimsoned with the blood of those whom the guns had destroyed. By the help of their friends on shore the Khan's party triumphed, and their adversaries fled. Khusru Charkas was taken in his boat along with several other vessels, when, at that moment, Charkas Daftir, the chief of the merchants of Firang. who

repaired yearly to Thatta from Hurmuz, came fluttering like a moth around this furnace, and running his boat into the midst of the fray, succeeded in rescuing Khusru from his captors; but the attempt cost both of them their lives. When both sides were satiated with blood they withdrew to their tents, and applied balm to their wounds. It was at length resolved to abandon stratagem and fight in the open plain, where victory would fall to the brave.³⁹

BEG-LAR-NAMA

This work derives its name from the person to whom it was dedicated, and by whose advice it was undertaken: Shah Kasim Khan, son of Amir Saiyid Kasim Beg-Lar. We learn nothing of the author—not even his name—either from the preface or the body of the history. We can only tell, from the tone in which he speaks of his patron, that he must have been a most abject dependant.

The name of Beg-Lar, we are told, belonged to his patron's family by hereditary descent, and is not therefore to be confounded with the Beglerbegs of Turkey and Persia, who are the viceroys or governors of the Province. The Beg-Lar family after residing for some generations at Turmuz, came to reside at Samarkand, whence we had them emigrating to Sind. They pretend to derive their origin from 'Ali, the son-in-law and cousin-german of the Prophet. The genealogy is given in the *Beg-Lar-nama* and *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*. Their intimate connection with the

³⁹ The *Tarikh-i Sind*, and the *Tarkhan-nama* concur in representing that there were Portuguese mercenaries in this action, which closed the independence of Sind in A.D. 1591. They attribute the escape of Khusru Khan to the fact of a powder magazine exploding in the royal fleet.

¹ This title is not, as is generally supposed, used in Turkey alone. Ever since the time of the Ilkhanians, it has been adopted in Persia also. Cornelius le Bruyn's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 206; Franklin's *Tour to Persia*, pp. 336, 350; Sir H. Bridges' *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p. 449; Pottinger's *Belochistan*, p. 222. Their position, privileges and duties are shown in Von Hammer's *Staatsverfassung des Osmanischen Reichs*. Vol. I. p. 370; II. 273; and Paul Rycaut's *State of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 51-57. Dem. Cantemir, *Hist. of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 85.

Arghuns is attributed to one of their remote ancestors having taken up his abode in Khita, where he and his descendants continued in friendly communication with the Turks. This connection, indeed, frequently gives rise to the Beg-Lar family's being called Arghun, as elsewhere in the extract from the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, where the patron of our author is styled an Arghun.

Amir Shah Kasim came from Samarkand to Sind in the time of Shah Husain Arghun, and was received with distinction. He married the niece of the Wairsi Rana of 'Umarkot, and as her father was a Bhatta Rajput, Shah Kasim, the produce of this marriage, was half a Bhatti, and amongst that tribe he was brought up. It is to him, under the title of Khan-i Zaman, that this book is chiefly devoted, and as he acted an important part in the affairs of the kingdom, we are treated with tedious reports of the most trifling exploits performed by him and his sons, consisting chiefly of provincial contests, border feuds and cattle raids. This minute history, however, compels the author to mention the names of streams, forts, villages and tribes, which in themselves sometimes possess considerable interest. Even the local hostilities and intermarriages of clans afford matter of speculation to the curious enquirer, and on all these points some information is to be gleaned from the *Beg-Lar-nama*.²

As the little that there is of general interest centres in the connection which Khan-i Zaman had with public characters, it may as well be mentioned that he first rose to some distinction under Shah Husain, the Arghun ruler of Sind. He then served successively Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Jan Baba, Mirza Muhammad Baki, and Mirza Jani Beg. When this chief went to render his submission to the Emperor Akbar, Khan-i Zaman accompanied him, and was received with favour. He was afterwards nominated to an appointment in Sind under Mirza Ghazi Beg, and lived to an old age in that country, surrounded by a large and thriving family. His son, Mir Abu-l Kasim Sultan, was

² Tod says, that the present Rana of the Sodhas has set the example of the inter-marriages, but the following extracts will show the practice to have been prevalent nearly three centuries ago. *Annals of Rajasthan, Vol. II. p. 317.*

celebrated for his gallant conduct in the field, as well as for his literary talents. After rebelling against the constituted authorities, he was pardoned through the intercession of his father; but was subsequently blinded to prevent his exciting further disturbances.

The exact date of the composition of this work cannot be fixed with precision within twenty years—1017 and 1036 H.—because the intimations we have on that point are altogether contradictory and irreconcilable. We are told that the author's patron has "at this period, (*aknun*)" that is 1017 "reached the age of seventy." About this there can be no doubt, because we have already been informed that he was born in 947—more over the date is given not only in numerals but in text. But we are informed of Mirza Ghazi Beg's death, which occurred in 1021; about which, also, there can be no doubt, as it is substantiated by a chronogram in the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*. Again, in enumerating the children of his patron, we have the dates of 1032 and 1033, both in text and numerals. It could not have been composed at any period more than three years beyond this, because Jahangir is mentioned as the reigning monarch. Taking all these points into consideration, we may consider, either that the rough draft was written in 1017, and that a second was made about 1035, when the subsequent dates gained admission; or that *aknum* is used with reference to the event which the author is describing, not with reference to the period at which he is writing—in short, in the same of "at that time," not "at this present." If so, the date of 1017 relates only to the time when Khan-i Zaman had completely peopled and settled the country round the fort of Saiyid-garh, of which he finished the building in 1011; and we can fix with tolerable certainty upon the year 1034, or 1035—say 1625 A.D.—as that in which the *Beg-Lar-nama* was brought to a conclusion; but I have no great confidence in this interpretation, and it must be confessed that the matter is not worth further enquiry.

The *Beg-Lar-nama*, after the preface, open with a general abstract history of Sind and the Arab invasion, in twenty-two pages : we then have a very slight notice of the

Arghuns, with a biography of Amir Kasim Beg, extending altogether to eighteen pages : and from that to the end we have detailed accounts of the squabbles amongst the various members of the Tarkhan family, with the insertion of every expedition of robbery and plunder in which the noble Khan-i Zaman himself was in the remotest degree concerned.

This work is not found in India, except in the provinces of Sind, where I know of three copies. There is one in the Imperial Library at Paris. Fonds Gentil, No. 17.³ Size Quarto, (12×9 inches). 275 pages of 17 lines each.

EXTRACTS

Aboriginal Inhabitants of Sind

Sind derives its name from Sind, the son of Ham the son of Nuh (God's peace be with him!) and the province remained in possession of his descendants; but their names cannot be found in any books of history, nor have heard them in legendary stories, and I am therefore compelled to omit them. That which I have heard from common report is this, that in olden time the Province of Sind was held by the tribes of Bina, Tak, and Nabumiya; but the period of their government is not known. After a time, Sahasi Rai reigned in the fort of Alor,⁴ and all Sind and Hind was under his rule. When he died, Chach Brahman became master of Sind and Hind. His capital was the fort of Brahmanabad, and his dominions extended to the confines of Kashmir. His son Dahir succeeded him and became master of the whole kingdom. In his days the armies of Islam arrived under the command of Muhammad Kasim, and after many battles Dahir was slain.

Mir Kasim Beg-Lar marries the daughter of Rana Kumba

It appears that in those days when Mir Kasim Beg-Lar deceased held the governorship of 'Umarkot,⁵ Rana⁶ Kumba Wairsi represented to him that an inveterate and

³ *Reinaud*, *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxvii. ⁴ *See elsewhere.*

⁵ *Umarkot*. (In original).

⁶ *Rana*. (In Persian also).

deep-rooted enmity existed between his people and the Rathors of the fort of Nilma,⁷ and he was therefore solicited to march against them, that ample revenge might be taken. The Mir complied with his request, and he accordingly marched with the people of the Sodha tribe⁸ in that direction. When the warlike and fierce Rathors were informed of the coming of the ever-successful army, they armed themselves and advanced boldly to the field of battle. Both armies stood in powerful array against each other. The Rana intimated to the Mir that it was an old-established custom amongst their tribes that both parties should alight from their horses and engage on foot.⁹ The most noble Amir agreed to this and issued orders to his army, which consisted of Sodhas, that they should dismount while they opposed the enemy. The Amir took his bow from the easel and began to shoot his arrows. Every arrow told, piercing through the armour and bodies of the enemy, and each time sending a soul to the world of annihilation. Twenty of the enemy having been slain, the remnant took to flight, confessing the Mir's bravery, and lauding him with a hundred thousand tongues. When the Sodhas witnessed such bravery and intrepidity, they resolved to honour themselves by seeking a matrimonial alliance with the Mir. The great and noble Mir, according to the will of God, accepted their prayers, and Rajia the daughter of Rana Kumba Wairsi's sister, a most modest chaste girl, whose father was the Bhatti chief of the fort of Jesalmir, was betrothed to him.¹⁰

* * * *

Deputation of Khan-i Zaman on a mission to Rai Dhar Raj of Jesalmir

Khan-i Zaman, with the aid of the Almighty, proceeded, with his friends and suite, after taking leave of Mirza Jan

⁷ This place is half-way between 'Umarkot and Jesalmir.

⁸ [See Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, Vol. I. 93, and II. 210, 319.]

⁹ See elsewhere.

¹⁰ The text says simply *ajaza Rana*, but at page 41, we are told that she was his sister's son, and this is confirmed by the *Tuhfatu-l-Kiram*.

Baba, towards Jesalmir. When he arrived, he halted outside the fort on the margin of the tank,¹¹ and despatched a messenger to Rai Dhar Raj to say that Mirza Jan Baba had sent a robe of honour for him. The Rai with much politeness, requested him to stay where he was encamped, and intimated that he would come to him on an auspicious day and hour to be invested with the robe. In those days the periodical rains, by the will of God, had not fallen, and the land all round was parched up. A single vessel of water was to be had only at a very heavy price, for there was no water in the lake. But, when the prosperous feet of this nobleman touched that ground, suddenly, by the will of God, rain fell: the dry land became saturated and green herbs sprung up in every place. In the morning, the Rai came to visit him and had the honour of meeting him. He said that the rain had fallen only on account of his prosperous presence. He accompanied the Khan with great honour and respect into the fort, and then performed the rites of hospitality. Each day he showed him greater honour. The great Khan stayed there for the period of five months, after which he took leave and turned his reins towards Nasrpur. Having reached the banks of the tank of Sankra, he learnt that Jaish Khan and 'Alau-d din, having pursued their course along the eastern bank of the river, were proceeding towards Thatta to meet Jan Baba. When they had reached the stream of the Rain, they were informed that Mirza Jan Baba, accompanied by Saiyid 'Ali Shirazi, had gone to Mirza Muhammad Baki, and according to the will of God had been slain. On hearing this, they returned and reached Nasrpur plundering the country on their road. Khan-i Zaman also went thither and met them. The exigencies of the time were such that he owed money, and as none of these people showed him any humanity and favour, he was much distressed in mind. He said he had placed all his reliance on Mirza Jan Baba, on whom the decree of God had now passed. He observed to his companions, "At present it is urgently necessary for me to pay some

¹¹ *The spacious tank of Jesalmir lies to the south-east, and the magnificent fort crowns a rocky hill on the south-western angle of the town.*

money in liquidation of my debt, what is your advice." They replied—"These people possess much wealth and are proud of their riches. Now we are at your service and ready to accompany you wherever you desire." On this, he proceeded towards the Sodhas, at the village of Tarangchi.

The Plunder of Tarangchi

Khan-i Zaman, by the advice of his companions, set out and crossed the waters of Sankra. When Duda and Ghazi learnt that he had gone in that direction with only a few men, they rode after him. As soon as 'Alau-d din and Mian were informed that their sons Ghazi and Duda had gone to join Khan-i Zaman, they also marched in the same direction with the intention of bringing them back. They reached the banks of the Sankra at the time that Khan-i Zaman had crossed it, while Duda and Ghazi were only then preparing to pass the stream. When they saw that their fathers had come to take them back, they immediately threw themselves into the stream, swam their horses over, and joined Khan-i Zaman. They would not return, for they reflected that, if at this time they did not accompany him, the reward of their past services would be forfeited. In the afternoon, Khan-i Zaman, having watered his horses, left the village of Rahu Madh, and that renowned lion, with only twelve horsemen, travelled through a large jungle the whole night. On arriving near the village of Tarangchi, he found the camels of the Sodhas there, and determined to carry them off without delay; but it occurred to him that he had better first let his horses quench their thirst. With this intent he proceeded towards the village, and there found the tracks of five hundred horses that had just passed over the ground. He was alarmed, and thought how impossible it was to save himself with so few men against such a host. He, however, advanced and asked the driver of the camels what army had passed by that road. The man replied that Mirza Muhammad Baki and Mirza Jan Baba had quarrelled with each other, and that the former had asked the Sodhas to reinforce him. Hence a force of about five hundred men of the Waisa tribe had passed that way.

The Khan's companions were much alarmed at this intelligence, and brought back their horses without watering them; but they bravely and gallantly carried off the camels; many of these animals died on account of the severe marches they had to make. The next day, in the afternoon, the dauntless heroes reached the village of Rahu Madh,¹² where they stayed only sufficient time to drink water. At nightfall they halted at the village of Pariyari. Early next morning they pursued their journey, and reached the village of Sitara, which belonged to the Anran tribe. There they rested themselves without fear or danger. They divided the camels amongst themselves. One was given to Jaish Khan, another to Birlas, another to 'Alau-d din, and another to Mian Sodha.

* * * *

Proceedings of Khan-i Zaman

Khan-i Zaman had his head-quarters at Nasrpur, and comforted the people under his rule by his kindness and justice.

* * * *

As ties of relationship existed between him and the Bhattis, he sent Arab horses laden with all kinds of valuable articles to the Ranas of the Sodha, Rara, and Bhatti tribes, the Rawats and the Rathors, and the Rais and Jams of the Jharejas; insomuch that the chiefs of 'Umarkot, Jesalmir, Bikanir, Nirohi, Mahwa (Miwar?), Kotara, Bahalmir, Nilma, Barkar, Kach, Nakti, Ramdinpur, Chauduwar, and the like, were gained by his bounty. No demand of service was made from them. These chiefs engraved the words of friendship and fidelity on their hearts, and considering themselves greatly honoured, were ready to exclaim:—"We are under great obligations to the Shah! We can think of nothing else but of serving him. For we are favoured by his generosity, and will never turn

¹²[The name is here written Rahu-dhar.]

our faces against his commands." Being grateful they were always ready to obey his orders. If any service was required of them, they performed it with the greatest fidelity and submission, and whenever they were summoned they came willingly. As the Bhats and Charans were dependents of these chiefs he used to reward these family bards whenever they came to him, with a lakh (of rupees?) or more. As Hewanda was the bard of the Bhattis, he presented him with a donation of one crore and a quarter, or one hundred and twenty-five lakhs (?), besides horses, camels, etc., which he likewise generously granted. In short, by the wise conduct of this great and enlightened noble, all men, great and small, bad and good, were as obedient to him as slaves. The renown of the excellent qualities of this second Hatim or Ma'n, was not only on the tongues of all the nobles and plebeians of his own land, but also spread over every part of the world.

The Sacking of 'Umarkot

The appointment of the governorship of 'Umarkot depended upon the will of the kings of Sind, who removed the incumbent whenever they thought proper. About the time when Khan-i Khanan came to Sind, the governorship of that fort was held by Rana Megraj. Khan-i Khanan expressed a desire to be connected by marriage with the Rana, who having no daughter fit to be given in marriage to him, he was obliged to offer the hand of his brother Man Sing's daughter. After the death of Rana Megraj, Nawwab Mirza Jani Beg conferred the governorship of 'Umarkot on his son Kishan Das. Animosity sprang up between this chief and Man Sing, and he, having turned out Man Sing from the fort, assumed the surname himself. Man Sing, being related to Khan-i Khanan, sent his son to represent the matter to him. In those days Khan-i Khanan and Nawwab Mirza Jani Beg were both in attendance on the Emperor Akbar at Burhanpur. Khan-i Khanan therefore recommended Man Sing to the favour of Mirza Beg, who wrote to Mirza Abu-l Kasim Sultan directing him to place Man Sing in the governorship of the fort of 'Umarkot, and make Kishan Das understand

that he was not to oppose and thwart him, but that the same rule with regard to their respective positions should be observed now, as had been established from of old in the family. Mir Abu-l Kasim Sultan, in obedience to this mandate, proceed from the fort of Shahgarh¹³ towards 'Um-arkot. Having reached the village of Samara he alighted there, Man Sing being also with him. Rana Kishan Das being informed of this, collected his forces, and having encamped opposite the same village, drew up his army in hostile array. This Rana Kishan Das was in many ways related to the noble Khan-i Zaman, one of his sisters being married to Mir Abu-l Kasim, another to Shah Mukim Sultan,¹⁴ and he himself was son-in-law of Bancha Bhatti, the maternal nephew of the Khan. Some friendly people who were with the Amir were anxious that no fighting should take place between the parties. When they expressed their intention to the Rana, he said he considered himself a servant of Mir Abu-l Kasim, and would not rebel against him: still Man Sing must not be allowed any interference, because he was the originator of these quarrels and disturbances. Mir Abu-l Kasim, however, adhered to the orders he had received to place Man Sing in the governorship. At length, upon the instigation of his well-meaning friends, the Rana resolved to go to Mir Abu-l Kasim Sultan. So when he arrived, he alighted from his horse, and having changed his vanity and pride for humility and supplication, he advanced on foot for a long distance with his whole army, officers, dependants, and servants. He kissed the feet of the Sultan, and presented him the horse on which he had himself ridden. The Sultan mounted and gave him his hand. He then pitched his tent near¹⁵ the pool of Samara and passed the night there. The Rana also encamped on the margin of the pool. At daybreak, some of the people of the Mir's camp, who belonged to the Sameja tribe, went into the fields of the Sodhas and began to injure them. As hostilities had previously existed between these tribes, the Sodhas abused the

¹³ *Shahgarh was built by Khan-i Zaman on the banks of the Sankra, "and nothing now remains of it except the name."*—Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS. p. 72.

¹⁴ *These two were sons of Khan-i Zaman.*

Samejas, and a quarrel ensued. Intelligence being brought to Mir Abu-l Kasim, he immediately hastened off; and Rana Kishan Das also set his army in array, and advanced with intent to fight, but his heart failing him, he took to flight, and proceeded towards Kaurhar. Mir Abu-l Kasim with his followers and companions, hastened to 'Umarkot. When he approached the fort, a son of the Rana Kishan Das who was in it, not being able to oppose him, took some money with him and fled. Upon this, the Mir entered the fort and the whole family of the Rana were captured. But as they were related to him, they, together with his treasures, were of course protected. All other things, however, were taken possession of by the army. Temples were demolished, cows were directed to the butchered, and the houses of the infidels were made to resound with the sound of trumpets and horns, and their filthy idols were polluted. In the idolatrous places of worship Muhammadan tenets were promulgated, and prayers were read for one entire week. He remained in the fort passing his time in festivity and pleasure. As the killing of cows and the breaking of idols is considered by the Sodhas to be the highest possible insult, the Rana felt highly indignant, and having returned from the village of Kaurhar, he summoned the Sodhas from all sides and quarters to meet him at Gaddi. There they crowded ready to advance on 'Umarkat. They had been subjected to great ignominy, and so they were all ready to sacrifice their lives in revenge. When this news reached Khan-i Zaman, he, reflecting that both parties were enrolled in his army, was most anxious that no contest should take place between them, and consequently hurried away with the intention of effecting a reconciliation between them. He set out in the evening from Nasrpur, and having travelled the whole night arrived early the next morning at the village of Gaddi, where the Rana and the Sodhas had encamped. He sent his son Mir Shah Mukim Sultan, Mir Fathi Beg Sultan, and Kana Bhatti, brother of Ram Bhatti, to the Rana, in order to appease and comfort him. They ac-

¹⁵ [The text says *dar miyan-i-kulab/gulab* "in the middle of the pool."]

¹⁶ ["Rahzad" = *zad-i rah*, "provisions for the way."]

cordingly went to him, and so far appeased him that he was induced to accompany them, and had the honour of kissing the Khan's feet. The Khan exalted him by the grant of a horse and robe of honour, and spoke words of sympathy and consolation. * * * * In the end, some of the plundered property was restored, but the Rana obtained only poor satisfaction.

TARKHAN-NAMA

OR

ARGHUN-NAMA

THESE two are different names of the same work, of which the author is Saiyid Jamal, son of Mir Jalalu-d din Husaini Shirazi, who composed his work in the year H. 1065 (1654-5 A.D.), as we learn from a casual notice in the genealogical tree, to be hereafter mentioned. The work is named after the Moghal families of Arghun and Tarkhan respectively, whose origin will be further noticed elsewhere. The *Arghun-nama* is mentioned in the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* as if it were a separate work, but there is nothing on the Arghuns in the latter history which is not derived from sources at present extant and available. I could find no trace of such a history in Sind, and I was told by several people in that province, that the work under consideration was the only one known as the *Arghun-nama*. As it treats with sufficient copiousness upon the Arghun history, as will be seen in the translated extract, there is no impropriety in giving it this assumed name, but it is obvious that the author himself styled it *Tarkhan-nama* only in compliment to his patron Mirza Muhammad Salih, who was of the Tarkhan family.

There appears to have been at one time a history of that family of older date than this, because Saiyid Jamal informs us, that the Mirza, being most anxious to acquaint himself with the genealogy and history of the Moghal tribes, and especially of his own ancestors, in order that he might learn precisely from what particular chief he was descended, commissioned our author to send him the

book called *Tarkhan-nama*. This zealous individual, not being able, notwithstanding all his enquiries, to find any book of this name, determined to compose one himself to supply the deficiency, and for this purpose examined and extracted from *Tabari*, the *Rauzatu-s Safa*, the *Zafar-nama*, the *Tarikh-i Humayuni*, the *Akbar-nama*, the *Nigaristan*, the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, the *Muntakhab-i be-badal Yusufi*, the *Tarikh-i Guzida*, the *Majma'u-l Ansab*, and others. And so having traced the progenitorship of the Tarkhans up to the Patriarch Noah, he completed what he styles his *Tarkhan-nama*.

In this enumeration of authorities we have another flagrant instance of that offensive suppression of the truth which so often excites our indignation in the Indian historians. The work to which Saiyid Jamal is most indebted is Mir M'asum's *Tarikh-i Sind*, from which he has extracted and abridged, but with many omissions,¹ the whole history of the Arghuns and Tarkhans, from the rise of Shah Beg, to the close of the independence of Sind under Jani Beg, and to which he is indebted even for the selection of whole sentences, as well as the frame of the narrative; and yet Mir M'asum's name is nowhere mentioned, except where his grandfather Saiyid Mir Kalan is incidentally brought upon the stage. From some of the works quoted he has of course borrowed his Turkish genealogy, but even there his obligations seem to have been confined to the *Rauzata-s Safa*, the *Zafar-nama*, and the *Majma'u-l Ansab*, which three works would have been sufficient to afford him all the information with which we are favoured on that subject. The *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, which is the only local history which he quotes, is, with strange inconsistency, not followed either for facts or dates.

Mirza Muhammad Salih, who is represented to have been endowed with every excellence, personal and intellectual, was the son of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, grandson of

¹ Amongst these may be noticed the transactions of the Arghuns with the Dharejas, Maghis, Dahars, and Rai Khanhar of Kach; Shah Husain's proceedings at the fort of Dilawar, and at Pattan in Guzerat; the attack of Bakhsha Langah on Bhakkar, in 959 H. etc., etc.

the more celebrated holder of the same name, who founded the Tarkhan dynasty of Sind. Mirza 'Isa, the younger, was introduced to Akbar in 1012 H., and was treated by him and his successor, Jahangir, with distinguished consideration. As his independence of all favour and patronage, except that bestowed by the Emperor himself, rendered him obnoxious to the nobles about the Court, they managed that he should receive only those jagirs in which the turbulence of the inhabitants made the collection of revenue difficult² but his bravery and good conduct defeated all these machinations, and he triumphed over the jealous opposition of his enemies.

By an early acknowledgement of Shah Jahan as Emperor, and his proclamation of him in the 'Idgah of Ahmadabad, in which he anticipated the other more tardy nobles of Guzerat, where his jagir was then situated, he met with a distinguished reception from the new monarch, to whom he went to pay his respects on the banks of the Mahi. He was shortly afterwards preferred to the Subadari of Thatta, where he was directed to seize the person of Shariru-l Mulk at all hazards. Having succeeded in sending this gallant but obnoxious individual a prisoner to the Imperial Court, he received the honour of a *Naubat*, a lac or rupees in cash, and the increase of 1000 to his personal rank. He obtained subsequently the Subadari of Guzerat, and died full of years and titles at the advanced age of ninety-five, in the year 1061 H. (1651 A.D.), four years previous to the composition of this work.

Mirza Muhammad Salih succeeded to some portion of the honours of his father, and the other members of the family had each a separate provision assigned to them by the royal munificence.

The *Tarkhan-nama*, after a preface of three pages, opens with a genealogical tree from Noah to Muhammad Salih, extending through twenty-eight pages. We then have an abstract history of the Khans of Turkistan, and of Changiz Khan, and his descendants who ruled in Iran, in forty

² At this very time we find an Englishman complaining of the same treatment, by which, through the intrigues of the ministers, the king's kind intentions were rendered of none effect.

pages; the history of the Arghuns in twenty-three pages; of the Tarkhans in thirty-three pages; concluding with the death of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan abovementioned. Altogether, 127 pages 4to. (12×9 inches) of 17 lines each. The style is elegant, but, from a comparison with the original authorities, it will appear that its best graces are borrowed. Like other local histories of Sind, it is rare out of that province.

EXTRACTS

*The Arghun Dynasty of Kandahar and Sind*³

It is related by historians that Amir Zu-n Nun, son of Amir Basri, one of the descendants of Arghun Khan Tarkhan, son of Abaka Khan, son of Hulaku Khan, son of Tuli Khan, son of Changiz Khan, a soldier distinguished for courage and bravery among the warriors of his tribe,⁴ was employed by Abu Sa'id Mirza, and on all occasions acted up to his former character. By this conduct he became a great favourite of Sultan Abu Sa'id. The honours and rewards he received subjected him to the envy and jealousy of his fellows, for his rank was elevated above that of all his relations.

When Sultan Abu Sa'id was slain in the battle of Karabagh, Amir Zu-n Nun retired to his father in Hirat. He served for a short time under Yadgar Mirza. Afterwards, when Sultan Husain succeeded to the throne of Khurasan, Mirza Amir Misri⁵ died, Amir Zu-n Nun his son was regarded with favour by Sultan Husain Mirza, who assigned him the chiefship of Ghor, Zamindawar and Kandahar. In these countries the warlike tribes of Hazara and Takdari had complete power.⁶ Amir Zu-n Nun, in the year 884 H. (1479-80 A.D.), proceeded in that direction with a small body of his tribesfolk (*ulus*). For some time he was

³ [Page 71 to 99 of the text].

⁴ The word rendered "tribe" is *ulus*.—See Erskine's Baber, Vol. I, 19, 24.

⁵ [Frequently written "Basri."].

⁶ The reading is doubtful: Takdari or Nakdari. If the latter, they are probably the same as the Nakodari.

engaged in hostilities with these people, and, being in all battles victorious and successful, he brought the countries into subjection to his rule. The Hazara, Takdari, and all the other tribes having seen this, quietly submitted to his authority and made no further opposition. The services of Amir Zu-n Nun were so highly approved of, that Sultan Husain bi-l Karar made him absolute governor of Kandahar, Ghor, and other countries. After some time Amir Zu-n Nun Misri obtained independent power in those provinces, and he also encroached upon the territories of Shal, Mustung, and their dependencies. In the course of four more years he was in command of a large force and had entirely attached to his interest the people of Hazara, Takdari, Kipchak, and the Moghals of Kandahar. On hearing this, Sultan Husain sent an imperative order, requiring him to present himself without delay at the imperial court. The Amir acted accordingly, and on his arrival at court made the usual presents. The people were all loud in their praises of his loyalty and fidelity, and consequently the Sultan presented him with a vest of honour, a richly caparisoned horse, kettle drums, and banner, and also granted him a royal patent of investiture. He then ordered him to leave his son and suite at the court, and himself proceed to Kandahar. Immediately on receipt of this order, the Amir seized the first opportunity of secretly taking his son and the nobles who had attended him, and marched with great rapidity to Kandahar, leaving, however, his property, arms, etc., behind him in his residence. In the course of two or three days the Sultan ordered that the Amir should not leave the court for Kandahar until after the festival of Nauroz. The royal messengers, on arriving at the Amir's residence, discovered the flight, and reported to the Sultan the state of affairs. The Sultan, on hearing of it, remarked that the Amir had evidently departed without any intention of returning. But the prince and the nobles argued that his having left horses, camels, carpets, and other property behind him was a proof that his absence would not be of long duration. The Sultan then said that his flight was only another proof of his ready wit and sagacity. However, regrets were now unavailing. A.H. 911 (1505 A.D.) Sultan Husain died,

and the affairs of the kingdom of Khurasan fell into complete disorder.

Affairs were thus situated when in the Muharram of the year 913 H. (May, 1507) Muhammad Khan Shaibani Uzbek crossed the Jihun with an enormous army, like a swarm of ants or locusts, which he had collected for the purpose of conquering Khurasan. Badi'u-z Zaman Mirza, son of the late Sultan Husain, was in great alarm and consternation at the approach of this army, and instantly sent information of the fact to Amir Zu-n Nun.⁷ The Amir consulted with his sons and nobles, who all entertained different opinions on the subject, but the Amir declared that he considered it incumbent on him to march to the support of the Sultan, and that courage and humanity alike forbade him to remain inactive during this crises. He said that his return was not to be hoped for, as the Uzbek army was powerful and numerous in the extreme, and the fortunes of the house of Sultan Husain were in the decline. Accordingly, he assembled a friendly body of Arghun and Tarkhan troops, and marched to the succour of the Prince Badi'u-z Zaman. Having arrived at the camp, he was received with every honour. The same day the army of the Uzbeks and of Ma-warau-n nahr crossed the river. Numerous signs of the approach of Muhammad Khan Shaibani's overwhelming force were evident. Upon reaching the field of the approaching contest, the Prince having reviewed his troops, formed up in order of battle, and from both armies the shouts of the warriors and the roll of the kettle-drums resounded to the vault of heaven.

The Amir, with a body of his bold well-mounted horsemen, commenced the attack, and by an impetuous charge, completely routed a body of the enemy, and threw them into utter confusion. In vain: for as wave follows wave, column of the U'zbeks came on in endless succession to the attack, till at last the Khurasanis, unable to contend any longer with such disproportionate numbers, turned rein and fled. A scene of the wildest and most hopeless confusion ensued. The Amir, however, with a small band of his trusty and indomitable warriors, maintained his

⁷ Prince Badi'u-z Zaman was married to a daughter of Amir Zu-n Nun.—See Mir M'asum's Tarikh-i Sind.

ground, now standing on the defensive, now charging one wing of the enemy, and now the other. The field was dyed with blood. Thus they fought bravely and desperately until the Uzbeks closing in on every side, the Amir was wounded and thrown from his horse. Disdaining the quarter offered him by the U'zbeks, who hoped to take him a prisoner in triumph to Muhammad Khan, he fell, covered with glory.

Shah Beg Arghun

Shah Beg Arghun, son of Zu-n Nun, was, on the death of the Amir, placed by the unanimous voice of the chiefs on the vacant throne. He confirmed all his father's appointments, and gave the holders of them robes of honour. He displayed an unparalleled example of equity and justice, by which conduct he so won the hearts of his soldiery, that they became his most devoted and obedient subjects. Shah Beg always consorted with the most distinguished and scientific men in his kingdom.

At this time Muhammad Khan, having subdued the whole of Khurasan, approached Kara with the determination of adding Kandahar also to his dominions. On his arrival at Garmsir, Shah Beg sent messengers to him offering allegiance and submission. He promised that he would express the same at a personal interview. Muhammad Khan was satisfied with this concession and went back.

In the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.), Shah Isma'il the second, having overcome and killed Muhammad Khan in battle, took possession of Khurasan. The Shah attained to the greatest power, so much so that the surrounding nations dreaded his might and ambition.

At this juncture Warash Khan marched upon Kara, and set up his standard. Shah Beg in alarm at this threatened invasion, consulted with his ministers, showing them the imminent danger his country was in—threatened on one side by Shah Isma'il, the conqueror of Khurasan, and on the other by Babar Badshah, who had already reached Kabul, both with avowed warlike intentions. He pointed out to them the necessity of providing a retreat in case of

their losing Kandahar. It was at length resolved to seize the Siwi territory, and in the year 917 H. (1511 A.D.), he set out from Kandahar, and having reached Shal, there made preparations for the ensuing campaign. On his arrival at Siwi he invested the fort. The descendants of Sultan Purdili Birlas, who ruled in Siwi, advanced to oppose him with three thousand men of the Buluch tribe as well as other forces. The army of Shah Beg proved completely victorious. The enemy was utterly overthrown, many were killed in action, and the survivors fled towards Sind. Shah Beg entered Siwi in triumph, and made a short stay there, during which time he built houses, laid out gardens, and raised a fort which he strongly garrisoned, and, having appointed Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, one of the most distinguished of his nobles, to be governor, he returned to Kandahar.

Ann. Hij. 919 (A.D. 1513), the Emperor Zahiru-d din Muhammad Babar having determined upon the conquest of Kandahar, marched upon it with a powerful and numerous army. Shah Beg collected his forces, with sufficient provisions and munitions of war to enable him to sustain a siege, shut himself up in the fort and posted his men on the walls and bastions. On the arrival of the Emperor in the vicinity of the city, he was attacked by disease, and became very feeble. His ministers and nobles on this became disaffected and mutinous. Shah Beg, having learnt the state of affairs, sent the leading men of Kandahar with instructions to negotiate a peace. The Emperor, consenting to the terms, despatched Khwaja Jalalu-d din with suitable presents, and returned to Kabul. Shah Beg then withdrew after a short time to Siwi, and made a stay there. Having assembled a general council, he pointed out to them that the Emperor Babar having once found his way to Kandahar, would not rest contented until he had conquered and brought it under his own rule; that it behoved them to consult their own and the country's safety. In pursuance of this idea, he, at the beginning of the winter season, raised a force of 1000 horse, and despatched them from Siwi to Sind. This force, on the 7th of Zi-l Ka'da H. 920 (Dec. 1514), attacked and took the villages of Kakan and Baghban. These villages were

so densely populated, that, in the sack, 1000 camels, employed on the garden-wells merely were taken; from this, some idea may be formed of the wealth of the two places.⁸ After remaining there a week, they returned with their spoil to Siwi.

A.H. 921 (1515 A.D.). The Emperor Babar put into execution the design Shah Beg had foreseen, and having marched upon Kandahar, laid siege to the fort and commenced mining it. The siege was carried on with vigour, and all supplies being cut off, a great dearth of grain ensued in the city. At this crisis, however, the Emperor's army was so weakened by fever, that a peace was again agreed upon. Whereupon, the Emperor returned to Kabul.

In this same year, Shah Hasan Mirza having quarrelled with his father, left him, and went to the Court of the Emperor Babar, and being by him received with hospitality and distinction, he remained there two years. The Emperor observed that his visit was not from any affection entertained towards himself by Shah Hasan, but in order that he might learn the art of governing rightly, and at the same time perfect himself in the ceremonies of the Court. At length, Shah Hasan, with the Emperor's permission, returned to Kandahar.

A.H. 922 (1516 A.D.) The Emperor Babar again assembled an army, and marched upon Kandahar, and he was yet in the jungle when the fort was invested. Shah Beg, wearied and harassed by these repeated invasions, sent Shaikh Abu Sa'id Purani to negotiate a peace; the terms agreed upon were that in the ensuing year the government of Kandahar should be made over to the officers of the Emperor Babar. Having ratified this treaty, the Emperor returned to Kabul. In pursuance of this arrangement, Shah Beg, A.H. 923 (1517 A.D.), sent the keys of the fort of Kandahar to the Imperial Court, by the hands of Mir Ghiasu-d din, grandson of Khondamir, author of the *Habibu's Siyar*, and father of Mir Abu-l Makarim, and

⁸ Both these places were in the Sarkar of Siwi. The former has since become famous for its gallant defence by our troops.—*Tarikh-i Tahiri*, MS. p. 48; *Tarkhannama*, MS. p. 48; *Tuhfatu-l kiram*, p. 124.

grandfather of 'Abdu-llah Sultan. This ratification of the cession was approved by his majesty.⁹

After the subjugation of his country, Shah Beg remained two years in Shal and Siwi, reduced to penury and distress. In such straits was he, that his army was compelled during this period to subsist upon nothing but carrots, turnips, and other such vegetables. Towards the end of the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), he made warlike preparations for the conquest of Sind. In consequence of the removal of Mirza 'Isa, he left Sultan 'Ali Arghun and Zibak Tarkhan, with a number of men for the protection of the forts of Siwi and Ganjawa. He despatched a-head of his army a force of 200 horse under Mir Fazil Kokaltash, and himself followed at the head of 300 more. On entering the Sind territory, he soon reached Baghban; he learnt that an army of Samejas, under the command of Mahmud Khan, son of Darya Khan, was encamped at Thatta, four kos from Siwistan, and prepared to do battle. Shah Beg halted at Baghban, where he was well received by the principal inhabitants. He then resumed his march through the Lakki hills towards Thatta, and at last reached that river which in those days ran to the north of Thatta.¹⁰ Being unprovided with means of transit, he stopped for some days on the bank, revolving in his mind how to effect a passage. At this juncture, the men on guard perceived that a man driving a laden ass was fording the river from the opposite bank. He was seized and compelled by menaces to show the way through the ford.¹¹ 'Abdu-r Rahman Daulat Shahi then plunged on horseback into the river, reached the other bank and then returned and reported the fact to Shah Beg, who availing himself of this information, on the 15th day of Muharram A.H. 927 (December, 1520),

⁹ *An incorrect parentage is ascribed in the text to this learned envoy. See the article Khulasatu-l Akhbar and Habibu-s Siyar, in Vol. II. (Original Edition).*

¹⁰ *See elsewhere.*

¹¹ *Plutarch in his life of Antony, tells us that a costermonger, Eutychus, who performed a somewhat similar service for Augustus, before the battle of Actium, was rewarded by the grateful Emperor with a statue of himself and of his ass, with an equally auspicious name, Nikon. This beautiful work of art was destroyed, with too many others, by the barbarous Franks on their capture of Constantinople.*

crossed the river with his force, and marched towards the city of Thatta. On which, Darya Khan, the adopted son of Jam Nanda, having left Jam Firoz in garrison at Thatta, hastened at the head of his army to give the Amir battle.

After a long, bloody, and well-contested action, in which Darya Khan, with a host of Sammas, was killed, victory declared itself in favour of Shah Beg. On receipt of this disastrous intelligence, Jam Firoz left Thatta and fled without stopping until he reached the village of Pirar¹² with a heavy heart. Thatta was given up to plunder till the 20th of the month, in the course of which the inhabitants were treated with merciless severity, and many of them were carried into captivity. The holy text, "Surely when kings enter a village they destroy it," was fully exemplified in this instance. At last, by the strenuous exertions of Kazi Kazin, a most distinguished scholar, these outrages were put an end to, and proclamation was made to the effect that the people of the city were to remain undisturbed.¹³ The fugitive Jam Firoz remained, with a few men who had accompanied him, at Pirar, his family being still at Thatta. At length, finding that nothing was left for him but submission, he despatched a messenger to Shah Beg, humbly entreating forgiveness, and expressing his willingness to submit himself unconditionally to the will and pleasure of his conqueror, with most solemn promises of future good conduct.

Shah Beg moved by that generosity which distinguished him, and having pity on the miserable condition of his vanquished enemy, received the messenger most graciously, and granted him a robe of honour, at the same time sending a friendly answer to Jam Firoz, who on the receipt of it came with a number of his friends, towards the end of the month Safar, to Thatta, dressed in most humble guise, a sword hanging from his neck to express his complete subjection. He was permitted the honour of kissing the hands of Shah Beg. He then repeated his expressions of

¹² This place is in the hilly tract north of Thatta.

¹³ The Tarikh-i Sind, makes him, in true Oriental fashion, take an arrow from his quiver, which he gives to Kazi Kazin, to show that he was really accredited by the Moghal plunderer.

sorrow and contrition. Shah Beg, having assured him of his forgiveness, invested him with the robe of honour which Sultan Husain Mirza had before bestowed on Mir Zu-n Nun, and conferred on him the governorship of Thatta. He then held a conference with his nobles and ministers. The Sind territory, he declared, was too extensive for his own immediate government and control. It was therefore advisable to divide it, assigning one half to Jam Firoz, and keeping the other under his own management. They all concurred, and it was arranged that the territory extending from the Lakki hills, near Siwistan, to Thatta, should be assigned to Jam Firoz, while the upper part from the same hills should remain in his own possession. Having settled this, Shah Beg marched in the direction of Siwistan. The inhabitants of this place, dreading the arrival of the victorious army fled to Thati, and having joined themselves with the Sa'ta and Sumra tribes,¹⁴ formed themselves in order of battle and advanced to give fight. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Shah Beg proved again victorious; his adversaries fled, and he took possession of the fort of Siwistan. Having put it in complete repair, he placed in it some of his most distinguished nobles, among others Mir 'Alaika Arghun, Sultan Mukim Beg-Lar, Kaibuk Arghun, and Ahmad Tarkhan; all these he ordered to erect houses in the fort for themselves. He then took his departure for Bhakkar, and after several days marching arrived at the plain surrounding Sakhar. A few days after he reached Bhakkar, where he was much gratified with the fort and town. Having visited and inspected these, he laid out the town, assigning various quarters to his officers and soldiers. He caused a plan to be made of the fort, and placed it in the care of his principal officers, in order that, each one doing his part, they might put it into complete repair. The hard bricks for this purpose were provided by the destruction of the fort of Alor (anciently the seat of government) and of the houses of the Turk and Samma

¹⁴[*tahshi* in the text.] Mir M'sum has, *Talahti*, instead of *Thati* and *Samma* instead of *Sa'ta*. "*Sihta*" is probably the correct reading, which we find sometimes applied to the *Sammas*. Another copy reads *Sodha* instead of *Sumra*.

people in the suburbs of Bhakkar.¹⁵ In a short space of time the works were finished. He fixed on the citadel of the fort as a residence for himself, and Mirza Shah Husain; he also permitted Mir Fazil Kokaltash, Sultan Muhammad, keeper of the seal, and one or two others to reside in it. He employed a whole year in finishing the buildings in the fort and settling the affairs of his subjects.

A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.) Shah Beg left Payinda Muhammad Tarkhan in charge of Bhakkar, and advanced with a considerable army to the conquest of Guzerat. During his progress down the river, he swept the country on both banks from the foul inhabitants. On the arrival of the army at Chainduka, Mir Fazil Kokaltash was taken dangerously ill, and after lingering a few days died. This incident so affected Shah Beg that an idea took possession of his mind that the death of his friend was a warning of the near approach of his own. Shortly after, intelligence was received of the Emperor Babar's arrival in the vicinity of Bhara and Khushab, with the avowed intention of conquering the country of Hindustan. On hearing this, Shah Beg observed that Babar had no intention of leaving him at peace, but that he would ultimately seize Sind, either from him or his descendants. It was needful therefore to seek out some other asylum. Having said this, he complained of a violent pain in his bowels. Every remedy was tried to alleviate it, but in vain, for in the month Sha'ban, 928 H. (June, 1522), after a reign of fifteen years, Shah Beg died, without having been able to effect his intention of entering Guzerat. "Shahr Sha'ban" is the chronogram of his death.

Mirza Shah Husain Arghun

On the death of Shah Beg, in A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.), Shah Husain Arghun succeeded to the throne.¹⁶ He conferred dresses of honour and marks of his favour on those chiefs,

¹⁵ *Mir M'asum adds that the Saiyids were turned out of Bhakkar, and allowed a spare of ground in Rori, whereon to build new houses.*
—Tarikhi-i Sind.

¹⁶ *Some authorities give the name as Hasan, as elsewhere supra; but the other is the best authenticated. Respecting Shah Beg's death, see elsewhere.*

judges, nobles, and ministers who had assembled to congratulate him on his accession. As this event took place at the end of the Ramazan, when the great festival was about to be celebrated, the nobles about his person represented that on this great and memorable occasion it were well that the Khutba were read in his name. This he refused to permit, saying that as long as any descendant of the Sahib-kiran (Timur) existed, no other man could assume this privilege. Accordingly the Khutba was read in the name of the Emperor Zahiru-d din Muhammad Babar. During the celebration of the festival, the Shah remained in the same place. In the meantime he received intelligence how that Jam Firoz and the people of Thatta had heard with delight of the demise of Shah Beg, and had beaten their drums in token of joy and gratification. Incensed at these proceedings, Mirza Shah Husain having consulted with his minister, and having come to the conclusion that the prosecution of his father's designs on Guzerat was not advisable, ordered his army to march on Thatta in order to destroy Jam Firoz. News of this determination soon reached Thatta, and Jam Firoz, being utterly unable to oppose the army marching against him, hastily fled from the city, and crossing the river in despair took his way towards Kach. When he reached Chachkan and Rahman, he collected an army of about 50,000 horse and foot. With this formidable force, consisting of the people of Sind and the Samma tribe, he returned with the intention of coming to an engagement with Mirza Shah Husain, who at the head of his ever victorious troops, had already arrived at the city of Thatta. On hearing of the force which Jam Firoz was bringing against him, the Shah having left a body of men for the protection of the city, the inhabitants being in a state of the greatest alarm, marched out with the view of bringing the enemy to an engagement. On nearing the Sindian army, he formed his troops in order of battle, and advanced. Suddenly he came in view of the enemy, who, greatly alarmed at the sight of the Moghals, dismounted, left their horses, doffed their turbans, tied the corners of each other's clothes together, and thus engaged in the conflict. Mirza Shah Husain knew it to be the custom of the people of Sind

and Hind, when resolved upon fighting to the death, to leave their horses, and bare-headed and bare-footed, tie themselves together by each other's clothes and waistbands,—so he saw these preparations with delight, and congratulating his nobles and officers on the evident despair of the enemy, and the consequent assurance of victory to themselves, gave the order for the attack. On this, his troops armed with their bows and arrows, and sword in hand, rushed vehemently to the charge, spreading consternation and dismay in the ranks of the enemy. From morning to evening the battle was bloodily contested. Nearly 20,000 men fell on the field, till at last, Jam Firoz, being defeated, fled, covered with shame and disgrace, to Guzerat, where he remained until his death. Mirza Shah Husain remained for three days on the field of battle, distributing the horses and all other booty amongst his people, and showering rewards upon his officers; he then returned in triumph to Thatta. Thence he went to Tughlikabad, where he remained six months, when he proceeded towards Bhakkar. On his arrival within thirty kos of the city, all the leading men came out to meet and congratulate him, and were received with every honour. In this year also, Shaikh Bulaki came from Kandahar to Sind to visit him.

After the lapse of two years, A.H. 930 (1524 A.D.), Mirza Shah Husain came to the determination to invade Multan, in pursuance of which design he ordered his nobles and generals to make the necessary arrangements. At the commencement of the years A.H. 931 (1525 A.D.), he started on this expedition. On reaching the city of Uch he found the Buluchis and Langahs prepared to fight. The Multan army in those days was a hundred-fold greater than the Mirza's, yet he, trusting in Divine assistance, drew up his army with great care and circumspection, and with his Moghal troops began the battle. When these two brave armies confronted each other, the Moghals employed their deadly fire, and the Langahs and Buluchis plied their bows and arrows. The contest was sharp, but victory at length declared itself in favour of Mirza Shah Husain. Many of the Langahs were slain, the rest fled. The fort was captured, and orders were given to demolish the buildings in the city of Uch.

The news of the Shah's success soon reached the ears of Sultan Muhammad Langah, the ruler of Multan.¹⁷ Whereupon he despatched parties in all directions, with instructions to levy forces with the greatest celerity. In accordance with these orders, within the course of a month, an army consisting of 80,000 horse and foot, composed of men of the Buluch, Jat, Rind, Dadi, and other tribes, was raised.¹⁸ At the head of his large and powerful force, the Sultan set out from Multan. The Mirza on hearing of these numbers being brought against him, took up a position on the banks of the Ghara and there awaited the attack of the enemy. Sultan Mahmud remained for a month in the suburbs of Multan for the purpose of constructing such engines as might be required, and of amply providing his army with the necessary munitions and stores. Having effected this he resumed his march. The Sultan, inflated with pride and puffed up with a certainty of victory, at last arrived at Beg. Here it happened that Shaikh Shuja' Bukhari, the son-in-law of the Sultan, a man possessed of great influence in the political and fiscal affairs of the State, was detected in an intrigue in the royal harem. This having come to the knowledge of the Sultan, he was so enraged, that the Shaikh saw his only safety lay in the death of the Sultan. Having obtained from the treasury the deadly poison there deposited for the destruction of those obnoxious to the State, he administered it to Sultan Mahmud. The army, which consisted chiefly of Buluchis, being thus deprived of its head, the greatest confusion reigned.

The Langahs placed Sultan Husain, son of the late Sultan Mahmud, upon the vacant throne, and finding it necessary to make peace, they sent the holy Shaikh Bahauddin to negotiate a treaty. The Shaikh submitted his terms to Mirza Shah Husain, who approved and ratified them. The Mirza then returned, and on his arrival at Uch, ordered another fort to be erected there. In the

¹⁷ The original says Sultan Husain, but he had died more than twenty years before this event.

¹⁸ The Tuhfatu-l Kiram (p. 46), says that the Rind is a Buluch tribe. They are still a very influential and powerful clan. See Masson's Journey to Kelat, p. 322. Mir M'asum adds to these tribes by naming also the Kanrai and Chandya.—Tarikh-i Sind.

mean time, Langer Khan, one of the late Sultan Mahmud's nobles, came to the Mirza and informed him that, owing to the youth of Sultan Husain, he was unfit to conduct the Government of Multan,—that the duties of the State were neglected, and that in consequence of the tyranny and oppression, rebellions and insurrections had broken out in the city; that all the greatest and best disposed of the inhabitants were desirous of another ruler. He ended by imploring the Mirza to march again upon Multan. Mirza Shah Husain complied with this request, and on reaching the city laid close siege to the fort, which was garrisoned by the Langah army. Desultory fighting took place daily between the two forces. At length a great scarcity of provisions took place in the city. This increased to such an extent that even the head of a cow was valued at ten tankas, while the price of grain rose to 100 tankas per maund. After some time had elapsed, a party of soldiers one morning forced the gate of the city. The troops rushed in and captured the place. All the inhabitants of the city, from seven years of age up to seventy, were taken prisoners, the city was given up to plunder, and very many of the Langah tribe were slain. On this, Mirza Shah gave orders that no further hurt should be done to the survivors.

Sultan Husain and his sisters were brought before the Mirza by the venerable Shaikh Bahau-d din; and Mirza Shah, for the sake of their reverend protector, received them kindly, and abstained from doing them any injury.

After a stay of two months in the city, the Mirza left Khwaja Shamsu-d-din, with a force of 200 horse, 100 foot, and 100 gunners¹⁹ under him in charge of Multan, and having sent a message to the Court of the Emperor, Zahiru-d-din Babar, offering Multan to him, he returned to Bhakkar; and thence went to Thatta, where, having inspected and satisfied himself as to the proper management of the surrounding country, he fixed his abode, and passed fifteen years in the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity.

In the Ramazan A.H. 949 (Dec. 1542, A.D.), the Emperor Nasiru-d din Hamuyun on account of the rebellion of Shir Khan Afghan came from Lahore towards

¹⁹ [Topchi—*Musketeers*?]

Sind. Having taken up his quarters in the town of Lahari (Rori), he established his own residence within the walls of the delightful garden of Babarluka. Sultan Mahmud desolated the country, and himself took refuge in the fort of Bhakkar. The Emperor sent Amir Tahir Sadar and Samandar Beg to Mirza Shah Husain in Thatta, reminding him of the ties of amity and friendship which had existed between the Tarkhans and the late Emperor Babar. Mirza Shah Husain, paid much honour to the royal messengers, and said that if the Emperor intended to invade Guzerat, he, the Mirza, attended by his whole army, would accompany him on the expedition, and not return till the conquest had been effected. He also made over to him the tract extending from Hala Kandi to Bitura on the other side of the river, to defray the expenses of the royal household. He sent Shaikh Mirak Purani and Mirza Kasim Tafai to the Emperor, bearing similar terms and suitable presents. On their arrival there, they expressed the Mirza's loyalty and presented the petition of which they were the bearers. After a few days, the Emperor dismissed the ambassadors, and wrote with his own hand a letter to their master, to the following effect: "To Shah Husain, greeting (after the usual compliments), I comply with your request on this condition, namely, that you serve me with fidelity. Farewell!"

Mirza Shah Husain had formed his determination to present himself to the Emperor at a personal interview. The Arghun nobles were, however, of a different opinion, and altogether adverse to submitting themselves, and by their cunning and designing arts raised a quarrel, by which means they prevented Shah Husain from following the dictates of his own judgment. The Emperor remained at Babarluka for five months in the full expectation that Shah Husain would come to meet him, and having sworn allegiance would become a faithful ally. Having been informed as to the intentions of the Arghuns, he marched with his army on the first of Jumada-l Awwal A.H. 948 (Aug.-Sept., 1541) towards Siwistan; on his arrival at which place, he laid siege to the fort. Mirza Husain having received intelligence of this movement, came from

Thatta and formed an entrenched camp. The Emperor ordered mines to be dug under the fort, by means of which he succeeded in destroying one bastion. The garrison however, speedily remedied the injury done to their defences by raising another wall. The Emperor saw that the Arghuns had strengthened the work, and was aware that he was altogether unprovided with the engines necessary for the successful termination of the siege. Seven months had now elapsed since he first laid siege to the fort. Mirza Shah Husain succeeded in stopping the conveyance of supplies to the besieging army, which moreover were impeded by contrary winds and the rising of the river. Owing to these unfortunate circumstances, the army was greatly distressed. At this juncture the Emperor received a petition from Raja Maldeo of Jodpur, intimating that during his majesty's absence, the Raja had continued his faithful servant, and hoped for his arrival. Should the Emperor deem it fit to bring his ever prosperous army, the Raja was at his service with 20,000 Rajputs, and would accompany the Imperial army to whatever place it may be directed to march.

In consequence of this invitation, in Rabi'u-l Awwal, A.H. 949 (May-June, 1542), the Emperor marched towards the territories of Raja Maldeo. After some marches, he approached near them, but was there informed by some inhabitants of the surrounding country of the sinister views entertained by Maldeo, who, they said, had invited him only because Sher Khan Afghan had placed a force in ambuscade for the purpose of attacking and plundering the army. On hearing this, the Emperor became alarmed, and was much downcast, and after consultation he left the Jodpur territory, and marched with great speed to Satalmir. Thence he rapidly proceeded to Jesalmir, and from thence he continued his journey to 'Umarkot. During his march hither his army suffered much from drought. On his arrival, Dair Sal the chief, accompanied by his people, came out to meet him, and kissed his stirrup.²⁰ He cleared the fort of its occupants and assign-

²⁰ *The Tuhfatu-l Kiram gives this name "Rana Wair Sal." Mir M'asum has "Rana Bair Sal."*

ed it to the use of the Emperor, who remained in it for some days.

The people of Thatta sent the great Saiyid Ali Shirazi, who was Shaikhu-l Islam at that time, with presents of fruits and perfumes; the star of his prosperity again arose from the horizon of greatness.

On Sunday, the 5th of Rajab, A.H. 949 (15th October, 1542), was born the great Emperor Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar. His father rejoiced greatly at the birth of a son. The first clothes of the child were, for the sake of superior sanctity, made out of the garments of the aforesaid Saiyid. As there was in 'Umarkot no place fitted for the residence of a king, the Court was compelled to remove to Sind. Having set out they reached the town of Jun, situated on the banks of the Rain. This place is celebrated amongst the cities of Sind for the number and beauty of its gardens, abounding in rivulets which present fresh and delightful scenes. In these gardens, the Emperor remained for some days, within sight of the town. Mirza Husain also came with his forces into its vicinity, and there encamped. Daily skirmishes took place in the environs of the town between the followers of the two camps. One day, Timur Sultan, Shaikh 'Ali Beg, and Tardi Beg Khan, with a body of men, made preparations to attack a fort which was filled with grain. Mirza Shah Husain's officer, Sultan Mahmud Khan Bhakkari, being apprized of their design, took a large force, and in the morning attacked them. Shaikh 'Ali Beg with his sons, stood his ground until he was slain; others of his force were also killed in this engagement. Their adversaries also suffered heavy loss. The Emperor, grieved at the occurrence, contracted a disgust for Sind, and determined upon going to Kandahar.

In the meantime, on the 7th of Muharram A.H. 950, (12th April, 1543, A.D.), Bairam Khan came, unattended, from Guzerat, and having met the Emperor attempted to console him. He endeavoured with success to negotiate a peace between the contending parties. Shah Husain, delighted with the prospect of peace, readily agreed to the proposal, and sent the Emperor 100,000 miskals in

cash, all the equipage required for travelling (which he caused to be prepared), with 300 horse and an equal number of camels. A bridge also was built near the town, on which the Emperor observed that the Arabic words *Sirat mustakim*, signifying "a strong bridge," formed the chronogram of the date of the treaty and the construction of the bridge, *i.e.* A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543-4). On the 7th of Rabi'-ul Akhir of the year, the Emperor marched towards Kandahar and Mirza Shah Husain returned to Thatta. It is said that the Mirza became, towards the end of his life, afflicted with palsy. He chose as his companions men of loose character and mean extraction. The Moghals, Tarkhans, and others, being unable to obtain an audience at the Court, remained in their own houses. Daily, men of notoriously bad character were raised to preferment; for instance, early in the year 960 (1553 A.D.), the *Arbabi*, or prefecture of the city, was conferred upon 'Arabi Kahi, while the premiership was entrusted to Isma'il, an innkeeper. Towards the close of the same year, Mirza Shah Husain made 'Arabi Kahi his viceregent in the fort of Tughlikabad, and installed Shai-bah and Rafik, two slaves whom he had purchased and made his most confidential advisers, as superintendents of the city. Having thus placed all the Moghals, Arghuns, Tarkhans, etc., under the control of 'Arabi Kahi, he himself went to Bhakkar.

It happened that the sons of 'Arabi Kahi, being rapacious and greedy, oppressed the Moghals. Seeing this, the Arghuns and Tarkhans in Thatta became alarmed and much grieved. On this, 'Arabi Kahi, with the concurrence of his friends, sent information to Mirza Shah Husain, that the Arghun and Tarkhan inhabitants of the city had thrown off the allegiance, and were filled with visionary schemes against him. This, he said, jeopardized the safety of the country, and therefore he had deemed it incumbent on him to report the circumstance. Infuriated by this intelligence, Shah Husain wrote orders that 'Arabi Kahi should invite into the fort the most seditious of the Arghun tribe, such as Mir Farrukh, Mir Kabaik, Mir Timur, Mir Fazil, Mir Khalla, etc., and there put

them to death. He said that this example would intimidate the others, who would then return to their allegiance. He at the same time treacherously sent a letter to the Moghals, couched in kind terms, stating that they were his brothers and of the same tribe with himself, and that ('Arabi Kahi) and such fellows, were in reality only their servants and slaves, that to the disgust of the Sammas he had raised these men of low degree to elevated ranks, and that if in conformity to his orders they were obeyed and respected, then, considering themselves highly honoured, they would the more readily devote themselves to the duties assigned to them. It happened, that these two contradictory letters both fell into the hands of the Moghals, who thus becoming aware of the Shah's duplicity and treacherous designs, revolted, and having seized 'Arabi Kahi, Rafik, Shaibah, and Isma'il, put them to death in the beginning of Muharram A.H. 961 (Dec. 1553).

Having taken Mah Begum, consort of the Mirza, together with his other concubines prisoners, they consulted amongst themselves and agreed to the necessity of choosing a leader for the better prosecution of their business. They all offered themselves as candidates, each man declaring that he would not consent to anyone being preferred before himself. This being the state of the case, it was at last agreed that, as the Arghuns could not choose one among themselves, in preference to another, who might have honours and obeisances paid him, it was advisable, therefore, to select as their chief, one from out of the Tarkhan tribe. That Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, governor of Fath Bagh, being wise, prudent, and of noble descent, was best qualified for the office and likely to accede to their request. They then invited the Mirza from Fath Bagh and informed him of their wishes. On his arrival, they showed him great hospitality, and, persisting in their request, obtained his consent. They then nominated him their chief, and placed him at the head of the government of Thatta. They paid him royal respect and homage, and having sworn allegiance, placed themselves under his authority, and made proclamation of his supremacy by

beat of drums. The Mirza took possession of the treasure, and having lavished large sums amongst the army, established his power over the several districts and tribes of Sind.

Enraged at these occurrences, Mirza Shah Husain seized the Arghuns and Tarkhans who were in Bhakkar, such as Mir Jani Beg Tarkhan, Mir Ahmad Tarkhan, Mir Hamza Beg-Lar, Mir Murad Husain Beg-Lar, and others, and then marched at the head of a considerable army to Thatta to give battle to the Arghuns and Tarkhans. On his arrival within two kos of the city, the two armies came into collision on the banks of the stream of Shah Panah. Two or three engagements took place in which both armies suffered considerable loss. In the midst of this campaign, Mirza Shah Husain was attacked by a fatal sickness.

Sultan Mahmud Khan, of Bhakkar, the greatest noble under Shah Husain, was commander-in-chief of his forces. He was the son of Mir Fazil Kokaltash, son of 'Akil Khwaja, son of Ahmad Khwaja, one of the greatest chiefs of Ispahan. At the time when Sahib-Kiran Amir Timur Gurgan marched for the conquest of I'rak, the chiefs of Ispahan having revolted, threw off their allegiance to him. The Sahib-Kiran on this gave orders that they should be plundered and destroyed, and sent a formidable army to enforce his commands. During this invasion, Ahmad Khwaja, father of 'Akil Khwaja fell into the hands of Mir Hasan Basri, father of Mirza Zu-n Nun, and he having adopted him as his son, bestowed great pains on his education. Ahmad Khwaja flourished three generations before Malik Mahmud Khan, a man famous for his generosity, and nineteen generations after 'Iddi, son of Hatim Tai. Sultan Mahmud Khan, of Bhakkar, was chiefly characterized by his liberality and courage, in which latter he was unequalled. During his service with Mirza Shah Husain, he had given repeated proofs of his valour. On seeing that the Mirza's days were numbered, and that he had but a short time to live, he reflected that daily Musulmans were losing their lives in the strife, and

that shortly he would be involved in inextricable difficulties.

He therefore sent privately a message to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, to the effect that Mirza Shah Husain was on the point of death, that when that occurred, there would be no one to interfere between them, and that it would be advisable to enter into a mutual engagement. He refused to revolt against his master during his lifetime, but on his death he proposed an equal division of the country,—from the Lakki hills down to the sea should belong to Mirza 'Isa, and from the same hills to Bhakkar should belong to himself. The next morning, at the suggestion of Sultan Mahmud, the great Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahab Purani, and Mirza Kasim Beg-Lar brought the apologies of Mirza 'Isa, expressing his sorrow and shame for the disrespectful conduct of the Arghuns towards the Mirza. He sent word that if the Mirza would pardon him, and release such of the Arghuns and Tarkhans as were imprisoned, he would himself come in the hope of getting forgiveness for the past. Mirza Shah Husain, actuated by merciful motives, liberated the prisoners, and sent them to Mirza 'Isa, who in return ordered that Mah Begam and all the other captive concubines should be taken to the camp of the Mirza. Next day, Mirza Kasim Beg brought a letter to Mirza 'Isa to this effect:—"You should not have chosen this line of conduct, which can only tend to bring a bad name on both parties. Well! let bygones be bygones. In expectation of my mercy, you must either come yourself or send your son, that I may, through my own spontaneous kindness, confer on him the governorship of Thatta, while I myself return to Bhakkar." As the Arghuns, Tarkhans and soldiers, in their foresight, advised Mirza 'Isa not to go himself, he turned to his eldest son, Mirza Baki, and told him that he should go. The son refused, and said, "If you are anxious for my death, kill me with your own hand, but do not deliver me over to the hand of the enemy." On this, the Mirza looked at his second son, Mirza Salih, who, having arisen, rose and said, "Be satisfied; I will go. Either he will keep his word or he will not. If he does, it will fulfil our

hopes; if he does not, your safety must be secured. I am prepared to sacrifice myself, and obtain the honour of martyrdom; Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, seeing his spirit, embraced him with paternal affection, and gave him permission to proceed on the mission.

Mirza Salih with a few brave men went on the fourth of Rabi'ul Awwal, A.H. 961 (Feb. 1954), accompanied by Mirza Muhammad Kasim Beg-Lar, to meet Mirza Shah Husain, and offer his presents. The Mirza with great kindness praised his fidelity and courage, and calling him his dear son, invested him with a rich robe, a girdle, and sword adorned with precious stones, together with a horse, and saddle and bridle set with gems, a necklace, and a kettledrum. He furthermore conferred on him the governorship of Thatta, and then gave him permission to retire. Returning in safety to Thatta, he caused the kettledrum to be sounded before him, and presenting to his father all he had received, he remained under his protection, obedient to his orders.

About the same time Mirza Shah Husain marched back towards Bhakkar and on the 12th of the same month, died at the village of 'Aliputra, twenty kos from Thatta, after a reign of thirty-two years. Mah Begam and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahab carried his remains to Thatta, where they were temporarily deposited in the Makalil Hills. After two years, they were sent in charge of Saiyid 'Ali Shirazi and Mah Begam to the holy city of Mecca, and were re-interred there by the side of the tomb of his father, Shah Beg.

Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan

Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, son of Mirza 'Abdu-l 'Ali, son of Mirza 'Abdu-l Khalik, son²¹ of Arghun Khan, son of Abaka Khan, son of Hulaku Khan, son of Changiz Khan, succeeded to the throne of Thatta after the death of Mirza Husain Arghun. Mirza 'Isa made Mirza Salih Tarkhan his heir apparent, and placed the reins of government in

²¹ This "son" comprises several generations, as shown in the genealogical table at the beginning of this work.

his hands, reserving to himself only the name of king.²² When Mirza Salih had made himself secure of Thatta and its dependencies, he left his brother Mirza Jan Baba, who was greatly attached to him, to attend upon his father while he himself marched against Siwistan. He commenced his march on the 14th of Shawwal, A.H. 961 (Sep. 1554), and on the 21st of the same month he wrested the fort of Siwistan from the hands of Mahmud Khan Bhakkari. When Sultan Mahmud heard of this loss, he collected an army to oppose Mirza Salih. This was reported to Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, and he thereupon led a large force from Thatta to attempt the conquest of Bhakkar. He reached Bhakkar in the month of Muharram, A.H. 962 (Nov. 1554), where Sultan Mahmud had drawn up his army to resist him. Two or three engagements followed, and many were killed on both sides. Sultan Mahmud was at length compelled to take refuge in the fort, where he was so hardly pressed that he sent Saiyid Mir Kalan, grandfather of Mir M'asum Bhakkari, to treat with Mirza 'Isa, making professions of friendship, and offering to give up Siwistan and its appurtenances, if Bhakkar were secured to him; urging also that Bhakkar was on the frontier of Hindustan, and acted as a barrier on that side. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that the Firingis, who were coming from Lahori-bandar to the assistance of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, finding the city of Thatta unprotected, had plundered it, set fire to it, and made the inhabitants prisoners. The Mirza therefore accepted the proposal of Sultan Mahmud, and peace being concluded, he hastened back to Thatta, and resumed the government.

In the beginning of the year 964 H. (November, 1556), Mirza Muhammad Baki rebelled against his father, asserting his rights as eldest son, and objecting to the selection of Mirza Muhammad Salih as heir to the throne. In the fighting which ensued, Muhammad Baki was worsted, and he fled to Wanka, which was the abode of the Sumras. There he formed a connection with sundry Arghuns, and returned with them by way of 'Umarkot and Jesalmir to

²² [Long eulogies of Mirza 'Isa and Mirza Salih are omitted from the translation.]

Bhakkar. On his arriving there, Sultan Mahmud Khan laudably exerted himself to effect a reconciliation between him and his father; but Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, out of regard for Mirza Salih, exiled Muhammad Baki from Thatta, and sent him to Bhakkar. Here he endeavoured to procure assistance from Hindustan,²³ but Sultan Mahmud opposed him. The Sultan foresaw that if an army came from Hindustan it must necessarily pass by Bhakkar, which would be the first place to suffer. So he kindly but firmly opposed the project.

In the year 970 H. (1562 A.D.) the brave Muhammad Salih, who had won so many victories, drank the sherbet of martyrdom from the hands of a Buluch named Murid. The family and tribe of this man had been put to death by Muhammad Salih in punishment of their robberies; so holding a petition in his hand he placed himself in the way of the Mirza. The prince called him to his side and stooped down to receive the petition, when the caitiff plunged a dagger into his breast, and killed him.

After the death of his favourite son, Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan nominated Mirza Jan Baba as heir apparent. After some time Sultan Mahmud begged Mirza 'Isa to forgive his son Mahammad Baki, but failed in his object. Several nobles who inclined to the side of that prince then interested themselves on his behalf, and roused the father's pride by urging that the prince ought not to be a dependant on Sultan Mahmud. Being thus induced to pardon his son, Mirza 'Isa sent Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahab Purani and Mir Yar Muhammad, his nephew, to bring him home. When Mahammad Baki arrived, he waited on his father, and, receiving the town of Siwastan as his jagir, departed thither.

Mirza 'Isa was of a gentle and patient disposition, and showed great kindness to the people of his tribe (*ulus*); but the Arghuns were disaffected, and breaking out in open rebellion crossed the river. The guns²⁴ of Mirza 'Isa opened upon them. Many were killed, and the remnant fled for succour to Sultan Mahmud at Bhakkar. This prince

²³ *azam Hindustan shud*

²⁴ *Atash-bazi.*

gave a horse and a robe to each of them, and uniting them with a party of his own dependents sent them against Siwistan. They besieged the fort, and once or twice succeeded in scaling the ramparts, but could accomplish nothing more. Mirza 'Isa marched from Thatta with a numerous force, and sent a detachment on in advance to raise the siege and pursue the assailants. The opposing forces met at the village of Rakban, when victory declared in favour of Mirza 'Isa, and many of Sultan Mahmud's men were slain. The Mirza advanced as far as the town of Durbela. The Sultan also, coming out of Bhakkar, arrived near the same place, and throwing up a fort, prepared for the conflict. In the end peace was made through the medium of Mah Begam and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahab Purani, and the rivals retired to Thatta and Bhakkar respectively.

In the year A.H. 974 (1566 A.D.) Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan was seized with mortal sickness, so he called together the Arghuns and the Tarkhans, the ministers and nobles, and all the chief men of the country, in order once more to name Mirza Jan Baba as his successor. But Mah Begam strenuously opposed this, maintaining the right of Muhammad Baki, the eldest son. The dying monarch declared that Muhammad Baki was tyrannical and cruel, that the people would suffer under his rule, and that she herself would perish by his hand. The end of it all was that Mah Begam sent to hasten the coming of Muhammad Baki, and kept the death of his father secret until his arrival. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, who had reigned fourteen years, was then buried in a tomb, which he had constructed in his garden, and Muhammad Baki ascended the throne.

Important corrections:—

Page 38 line 21, for Province, read Provinces.¹
 Page 48—Footnote No. 15 to be put on page 47. Page 48, line 13 for treasures, read treasures,¹⁹

TUHFATU-L KIRAM

[THIS is a work in three volumes by 'Ali Sher Kani'. The first two volumes are of considerable length, but all the matter of special historical interest is comprised in the third. A succinct synopsis of the contents of the work is prefixed to the first volume. According to this the work commences with—

Vol. I. A Preface in two parts and three books. Book I. contains three sections,—On the (1) Prophets; (2) Kings; (3) Philosophers, saints, poets, and great men before the time of Muhammad. Book II. is divided into five sections, (1) Ancestors of the Prophet; (2) Memoirs of the Prophet; (3) the Four Khalifs; (4) the Four Imams; (5) Celebrated Descendants of the Four Imams. Book III., in three sections, (1) The Ummayyide Khalifs and their representatives in 'Irak and Khurasan, with notices of the chiefs and great men of the times; (2) The 'Abbaside Khalifs, including those who set up the Khalifat in Egypt, and also the great men and warriors of the period; (3) Kings cotemporary with the 'Abbasides.

Vol. II. General History, with notices of philosophers, nobles, ministers, and other great men.

Vol. III. Special History of Sind, including descriptions of its cities and villages, histories of its rulers, and memoirs of its great, learned, and distinguished men.]

This third volume, as it is the latest, so it is the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories of Sind. In the portion relating to the early history of the province, it is not quite so copious as the *Tarikh-i Sind* of Mir M'asum; but even in that part it presents us with more miscellaneous information, and introduces subjects not treated of in that work, such as the legendary tales which are familiar in the country, the origin of some of the tribes, and the separate biographies of the principal officers and no-

bles who acquired distinction under the later dynasties. The authors are both equally credulous in recording the miracles of saints, but the extent to which the hagiography runs in the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* is much greater than in the *Tarikh-i Sind*; there being scarcely a village in that priest-ridden country which has not its tombs of holy men, whose lives and powers are here recorded with implicit faith.

The work opens with the dynasties of the Rais and Brahmans, followed by the history of the Arab conquest, well abridged from the *Chach-nama*. This comprises twenty pages. In thirty more we have the legends, the governors appointed by the kings of Dehli, the Sumras and Sammas; then the history of the Arghuns and Tarkhans, with their nobles, in thirty-six pages; the imperial governors under the Timurians in twentyfour pages, and an account of the Kalhora dynasty to the time of Mian Sar-faraz Khan in twelve pages. All this comprised in a little less than half the volume. The rest is entirely devoted to the saints, seers, *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, and devotees, with a notice of the poets and caligraphists of Sind.

There are two chronograms at the end of the volume, representing that it was completed in A.H. 1181 (1767-8 A.D.); but near the middle, at the close of the account of the Kalhoras, we have later dates several times mentioned, extending to the year A.H. 1188.

The author quotes as his authorities all the native histories noticed in the preceding articles; and in the accounts of the saints we find incidentally mentioned the *Jawahiru-l Aulya*, the *Hadikatu-l Aulya*, the *Ma'lamatu-l Afak*, and the *Taghiratu-l Murad*. Some other authors quoted in the body of the work are obtained at second hand.

Extracts from the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* have been given by Lt. Postans in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numbers lxxiv., 1838, and clviii., 1845. In the latter we have the portion relating to the Arab conquest of Sind, which, as before mentioned, is abstracted from the *Chach-nama*.

The *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* is the title of one of the works of the celebrated Jalalu-d din Soyuti, according to the Pari-

sian catalogue of his writings given in G. Fluegel's edition of Haji Khalfa's *Lexicon Bibliographicum*, Vol. vi. pp. 665-679.

[Sir H. Elliot's copy consists of three volumes quarto. Vol. I., measuring 11 in. by 8 in., contains 746 pages. Vol. II., 889 pages, of 17 lines each. Vol. III. is a little larger (12 in. by 8½ in.), and contains 242 pages, of 25 lines each, in a much smaller hand. There is also a new copy of Vol. III.].

EXTRACTS

The Sindian Ordeal of Fire

Some customs have obtained from of old among the inhabitants of Sind,¹ which, although they spring from ignorance, their practice is specially observed by them.

When a person is suspected of any grave offence, and desires to purge himself of the charge, he offers to pass through the flames of a large fire, like a salamander, and come out of it unharmed, like Khalil. In the story of Sassi and Marui we shall have an instance of this ordeal.

Another ordeal, still practised among the most ignorant, is that of taking up a red-hot spade, and this will also be noticed in the story of Marui. Green leaves of a tree are tied on to the hand of the suspected person with raw thread, and an iron spade, heated to redness, being then placed on his palm, he must carry it for several paces quickly; and it has often been seen that neither the thread nor the leaves have been in the slightest degree affected by the heat of the red-hot iron, although when cast to the ground it scorched it like the sand in the oven of a parcher of grain. Verily this is by the virtue of Truth, for if otherwise, how is it that such fire does not burn the hand?

A modern story runs thus:—A woman stole a pair of shoes belonging to the wife of a certain horseman, but denied the theft. When the time approached for undergoing the ordeal of the hot iron, she artfully concealed the shoes in a basket filled with cotton; and making it

¹ Bumia is the term used for inhabitants, literally "occupiers of the land"—the bhumia of Hindustan. The term is of frequent occurrence in the Sindian histories, but rare in other works.

seem as if the carrying that were her business at the moment, entered the assembly, and handing it to the horse-man's wife, asked her to take charge of it during the ordeal. She then said, "The truth is, I did find a pair of shoes belonging to so and so, and I have made them over to the owner; By the same token I now take up this red-hot spade." She took it up unharmed, and was then purged of the charge. The complainant then angrily threw the basket on the ground, and, as Truth is sure to prevail, the trick of this artful woman was exposed.

The Ordeal of Water

A stout post is fixed in deep water, the accused is then told to dive to the bottom, and stay by the post. One of the company shoots an arrow back. The post is then shaken; if the accused be innocent, he will, up to that time, by holding his breath, have been able to remain at the bottom, and on this signal he will come up to the surface. But if guilty, he cannot any how stay so long under water.

Incantations

Furthermore, several of the people of this country practise magic and incantations. For instance, they can roguishly transfer their neighbour's curds to their own stock, as the following instance will show. A respectable man relates that he was the guest of a woman residing in a village, and that she had but the curds of the milk of one cow. However, about the time she was going to make the butter, she stepped over to a neighbour's house on pretence of fetching fire, and there the woman of the house had a large dish of curds before her, which she was preparing to make into butter; the witch wrought her spells, and retraced her steps, and from the curds of the milk of her one cow she made about ten times the usual quantity of butter!

Osteomancy

The science called *Shana*² is known to some of the hill-

² The common people call it Phanni. It is the 'Ilmu-l 'Aktaf of the Arabs, and in great repute with the Mongols.

people, who are called "*Mansing*." From certain indications on a fresh shoulder-blade, they learn what they wish to know, and it comes to pass accordingly. A party of hill men, driven from their homes by fear of their enemy, were pursuing their way. Having yet gone but a little distance, the *Mansing* said that he saw from his *Shana* that they were hotly pursued by troops, and that there was no escape by artifice. The party were ordered to empty all the leathern water-bags on the ground, and then to pass over the spot. It so chanced that a *Mansing* was also among the enemy's forces; he, too, consulted his *Shana* for intelligence of the fugitives. It showed him that they had crossed over a stream. This disheartened the pursuers, who turned back, and thus the former were saved. This is but a slight illustration of what this tribe can do by the use of the *Shana*.

Another Custom.—Several ropes, confusedly entangled, are thrown on to the ground, and their unravelment reveals secret things.

Other Sindian Customs :—Liver-eaters—Trackers—Ornithocritics

There are also women who feed on liver,³ and foretell things to come, as will be shown in the history of Mirza Muhammad Baki.⁴

Again, there is the science of *Jogni*; this is chiefly in vogue with women. An example of it will be shown in the history of Rai Dahir.

There is a tribe entitled *Bawaratiya*, who go about in the guise of beggars, professing to explain mysteries and past events, and thereby deceive men. They also make predictions of the future, which seldom come true.

Some men are so skilful in the art of tracking footprints, that they can tell whether they belong to men or women, strangers or acquaintances, old or young; so also they can distinguish the prints of horses, camels, oxen, and buffaloes. They can pursue the tracks of thieves over hills and

³ *jigar khwareh*

⁴ *Abu-l Fazl*, in the *Ayin-i Akbari*, notices the celebrity of the Sindians in this art.

through deserts, and possibly they can even follow them through water.

Again, there is a tribe in the Kach district, who can prognosticate good or evil from the call of the partidge, and they can likewise predict the good or bad fortune of travellers from the cries and calls of other birds and beasts. A person relates—"I was journeying with a party, one of whom said, 'I must hurry on; do you follow at your convenience, for I find, from the cry of a bird, that guests have arrived at my house, and also that such and such a friend has just died'—and, indeed, so it proved."

Some of the marvels of this country will be found described under their proper heads; and the wonders of the hills will be mentioned towards the end of the narrative.

* * * * *

The story of Sassi and Pannun

A Brahman named Naniya, and his wife Mundhar, people of consideration, who dwelt at Bhambarawah, subject to the authority of Dalu Rai, were desirous of having a child born to them. After a while they were blessed with a daughter, the envy of the full moon. It was revealed to her parents that she was destined to be married to a Musulman. Dreading this family disgrace, the parents, with wounded hearts, enclosed that unique pearl in a box—her shell, as it were—and cast it into the river. The current chanced to carry it to the city of Bhambur, where there lived a washerman named Nahiya, who was also styled Lala; he had 500 apprentices, but not one child. When the box came into some of the apprentices' possession, they took it to their master, who opened it, and this moon⁵ of God's power shone out therefrom. He called her Sassi,⁶ which signifies "moon," and adopted her as his own. As she grew up, the lancet of her love pierced the hearts of beauty's flower-cullers. Every one who saw her wished she was his own, and all people surrendered their hearts to her; wherever she seated herself men crowded

⁵ [Here is an equivoque on the word mahe or mahi, "moon" and "fish."]

⁶ [Sans. Sasi.]

round her like the cluster of the Pleiades, and hovered around her like the constellation of the Eagle. At that time the caravans of Kich and Makran arrived in those parts with a variety of merchandize, and the praises of this "piece of the moon" were conveyed to the ears of Pannun, son of the Chief of Kich. He lost his heart, and repaired to Bhambur in the guise of a merchant, where he saw Sassi, and was much enamoured. By good fortune the seeker found a place in the heart of the sought; then in the hope of meeting her, he became one of her father's apprentices, and dressed himself as a washerman. I leave out many incidents to avoid prolixity; but the short of it is, that Sassi returned his love with more than equal ardour.

A goldsmith's wife, who longed to gratify her amorous inclinations, sought to bring about the separation of these two lovers, by exciting Pannun's jealousy. The devoted Sassi came out of it unsullied, like gold from the raging fire, and became an example to the world. After a while these two lovers were married. Pannun's father on learning this, desired his other sons to bring back the infatuated one by some means or other. They went and had an interview with Pannun, and became his guests. At nightfall, without his waking, they bound him on a camel, and set off towards their own country. Towards morning Sassi awoke, and found that she had been robbed of her living treasure. No longer mistress of herself she tore her garments in despair, and set off alone in quest of her lost one. With the feet of affection she traversed the rugged hills, and after accomplishing a distance of about forty kos, she fell exhausted from thirst, and was convulsed, striking her feet on the ground in the agony of death. By the power of God a pool full of water was produced, of which she drank, and found fresh strength. Persons say that the pool remains full of water to this day, and is never dry, even though no rain should fall for years. It is said, that Sassi had seen these things in a dream, on the night on which she was presented with henna, (at her marriage). The branch of henna which she had slept with in her hand according to custom, and

which she retained after she awoke, and which she carried with her, she now planted on this hill; by the power of God the branch grew to be a tree, and still remains a monument of that bleeding heart.

Not to be tedious, after being thus refreshed, Sassi hurried forward, and accomplished six or seven kos further through the same hills, when she was again distressed by thirst. A shepherd accidentally espied her from a distance, and cast longing eyes on her, and approaching, desired to carry her off. Thereupon she upbraided him with injustice, and requested that he would, at least, procure some refreshment for her, thirsty and tired as she then was, before taking her off. The shepherd hastened to his flock to get some milk. While this was going on, Sassi, who despaired of finding any trace of her lover, and finding herself thus fallen into evil, vented the anguish of her heart before the Almighty (who is the comforter of the helpless), and put up a petition for protection against that demon of the desert. Instantly, by the devine power, the hill was rent asunder, and gave a place to that half dead and stricken lover, like a ruby lying in the matrix; and, as a warning and memorial, a corner of her scarf was left visible. When the shepherd returned with the milk, and saw this instance of Divine power, he repented himself, and raised a tomb of stones over her, according to custom.

The tellers of love stories, which cut the heart like sharp diamonds, relate that when Pannun, all in chains, was carried before his father, his restlessness began to show itself to such a degree that his father was alarmed for his life, and, there being no help for it, he desired his brothers to go with him, and in any way that could be managed, restore his beloved to him. As they were travelling back, Pannun arrived at the place where Sassi was entombed, and seeing the fresh traces, stood amazed. The mutual attraction of hearts revealed this to him. For outward evidence he set about inquiring into the circumstances. The shepherd before spoken of happened to arrive just then, and related everything as it had occurred. Pannun instantly dismounted from his camel, and

begged his brothers to wait one moment, as he wished to pay a pilgrim's visit to this tomb. Then, having thrown himself upon it, he cried aloud to the Almighty, beseeching that he might be joined to his love. As no petitioner before God is ever left without hope, so by His power the hill at once opened and admitted Pannun. He and his mistress were thus encased, as it were, like twin almonds in one shell. The loves of these two, both lovers and both beloved, are still chanted in verses by the Sindians, at a place called Husaini, and people thus seek and find a mode by which they may soar from wordly affection to spiritual love.⁷ In truth, this narrative has a wonderful effect on the hearers and narrators, and Mir M'asum, of Bhakkar, has wrought it into a poem, entitled "Husn o Naz" (or beauty and blandishment); and Kazi Murtaza Sorthi, a resident of the village of Katiana, composed a poem, of a peculiar rhythm, on it in the reign of Muhammad Shah Badshah. He relates this story:—A Darwesh named Ism'ail, an inhabitant of Multan, came on a pilgrimage to see these two wonderful persons of the world of love and affection, and having left his camel at a distance, sat down and fasted three days, in the hope of seeing the two lovers. At the end of that time an old woman appeared to him, bringing some bread and water, but he flatly refused to eat or drink till he had seen Sassi and Pannun. She replied that she was Sassi, and desired him not to expect to see Pannun, for there was no dependance to be placed on things of this world, and that she was harassed by her kindred, who had reduced her to that condition. The Darwesh said—'How can I believe this, for Sassi was young and beautiful, and thou art an old crone.' On these words, she was tranfigured to her pristine beauty and youth, and she bade him eat something. The Darwesh said, "I will rather die of hunger than eat before I have seen both of you: thus have I vowed." After repeated adjurations, Sassi descended

⁷ This story, as well as many others connected with the legendary lore of Sind, is very well told by Lt. Burton. He calls the hero and heroine Panhu and Sassui.—See the *Unhappy Valley*, vol. I. pp. 81-88: and *Sindh*, pp. 57, 92-106. Mrs. Postans also gives it as a legend of Kach'h.

into the grave, and showed Pannun as far as his waist, but she herself encircled him all the while with both arms, for fear some one should carry him off. In short, many elders of pure heart have thus seen them. That road is not passable for any one riding a camel; but whosoever keeps awake by night at the tomb, is feasted by an unseen hand, notwithstanding that the place is an utter desert.

* * * *

The Genealogy of the Jats and Buluchis

Muhammad, son of Harun Makrani, who will be noticed in the series of governors of Makran, and who, at the time of the conquest of Sind, accompanied Muhammad Kasim as far as Armanbela, where he died and was buried, was, as appears from the genealogical table of the family, a grandson of Muhammad, son of Aban, son of 'Abdu-r Rahim, son of Hamza, son of 'Abdu-l Matlab. Once on a time, the pursuit of some beast of the chase, carried the Amir Hamza (may the favour of God restore him!) a long distance into a desert, where he found himself in solitude. As the Almighty watches with a special providence over his chosen ones, a fairy appeared in that desert for Hamza's company, and by the divine permission, he consorted with her, and this dissipated his sense of loneliness and dreariness. The fairy afterwards, by the divine power, became invisible, and the Amir reached his own country. The fairy bore a son by him, viz., 'Abdu-r Rahim. To be brief, Muhammad, son of Harun, had fifty sons born to him from seven women, as follows:—

- I. The first wife, Hamiri, bore—1. Isa; 2. Mihran; 3. Hajjaz; 4. Sahtak; 5. Bahram; 6. Rustam; 7. Jalal.
- II. His second wife bore—1. Mazid; 2. Jamal; 3. Rada; 4. Buhlol; 5. Shahab; 6. Nizam; 7. Jalal; 8. Murid.
- III. Miriam bore—1. Rodin; 2. Musa; 3. Noti; 4. Nuh; 5. Mandah; 6. Raziu-d din.
- IV. 'Aisha bore Jalal.
- V. Muddi bore—1. Adam; 2. Kamal; 3. Ahmad; 4. Humad; 5. Hamid; 6. Sa'id; 7. Mas'ud.
- VI. Fatima bore—1. Sher; 2. Koh; 3. Buland; 4. Gurg; 6. Nuru-d din; 6. Hasan; 7. Husain; 8. Sulaiman; 9. Ibrahim.
- VII. Eve bore—1. 'Alam; 2. 'Ali; 3. Sarkash; 4. Bahadur; 5. Teghran;

6. Mubarak; 7. Turk; 8. Zalha; 9. 'Arabi; 10. Shiraz 11. Taju-d din; 12. Gulistan-Barg.

After Hajjaj had subdued all opposition to Makran, as is recorded, he died, and that principality was divided between the children of Jalal, who took one-half, and the other half was shared by all his brothers. After a short time contentions sprang up among the brothers; the greater part of their descendants mixed with the people of the country and dwelt there, but the descendants of Jalalu-d din, having been worsted, repaired to Sind and Kach, and their descendants are spread in numberless divisions throughout that country.

The Tribe of Lodh, also called Loli

Their origin is this, that king Sulaiman (the prophet, peace be to him!) sent a party of Genii to Rum to purchase female slaves. On their return back, one of the Genii formed a connection with a girl named Lolia, who became pregnant by him. On king Sulaiman hearing of this, he gave him the girl. The child was named Lodh, and his descendants, generation after generation, intermingled with the Arabs; and at the time of the conquest of Sind, came to dwell there,—or perhaps they may have come there before that period.

Genealogy of the Samma Tribe

Sam, as some affirm, was the son of 'Umar, son of Hasham, son of Abi Lahib; and according to others, he was the son of 'Umar, son of 'Akarma, son of Abi Jahl. The title of Jam renders it probable that he was descended from Jamshid. He is commonly considered to be the son of Nuh. Jam, the son of Nuh (peace be to him!), had four sons:—1. Budha, who had sixteen sons, among whom were Budh, Sura, Sahta, Akhil, Autar, Amra, Handir, and others, they were styled Rathor; 2. Sanka; 3. Hamhar; 4. Bhagirat, who had one son named Dera, whose son was Ajipar, whose son was Dasrat.

Dasrat had three wives, viz.,—Kasila, Kailiya, and Simiya; by the first of these he had two sons, Ram and Lakhman; the second bore Barat, and Simia had Chatar-

gun. Sanka, son of Sam, also left descendants; and Hamhar, son of Sam, had a son named Todar, and Barat, son of Dasrat, had four sons, named Parihar, Jansupa, Kuri-cha, and Nahiya. Chatargun, son of Dasrat, also had a son name Chaira. Lakhman, son of Dasrat, left no posterity. Ram, son of Dasrat, left a son named Tawakas; he had a son named Atat, whose son was named Tattat; he had a son named Narkant,—his son was Kan, and the city of Kan was so called from him; and the son of Kan was styled Sambut Raja, who had four sons—1. Sam; 2. Barkaram, also called Shah; 3. Hanrat, also called Dakan; 4. Mada.

Sam, the son of Sambut Raja, had a son named Jadam. Jadam had four sons:—1. Haibat, whose son was Sind Samma; 2. Gajpat, whose son was Chughda; 3. Bhupat, from whom the tribe of Bhattis sprung; 4. Chura Samma. His son was Rai Daiyach, who became chief of Giral, a fort in the district of Sorath, and famous for the pomp of his retinue. He sacrificed his head as a religious offering. His wife Sorath was devotedly attached to him. The strong affection of this couple, together with the story of the sacrifice, is the subject of a most affecting tale, still sung at Sorath. Haibat, son of Jadam, son of Sam, son of Sambut, had a son named Ridari, whose son was Nit, who had a son Nutiar, whose son was Audhar, whose son was Audh, whose son was Lakhiya, whose son was Lakha.

Lakh founded a kingdom, and having allied himself in marriage to Pothi Chada, she brought him four sons. Of these one was Audh, who died without issue, and whose place of residence was called Audh; another was Mahir, he had four sons, viz.,—1. Satya; 2. Ditar Pathari; 3. Darha, who had no children; 4. Sand, he also had no issue. Lakha took to himself another wife in his old age, by whom he had also four sons, viz.,—1. Unar; 2. Chhatta, who had three sons, Babra, Dankara, and Kalla; 3. Fahal, the father of the celebrated Lakha Faslani; 4. Manahia. Unar, son of Lakha, had a son also called Lakha, whose son was called Samma. This Samma had two sons,—1. Kaka; 2. Jhakra. The former became a ruler, and the district of Kaka takes its names from him. He had two sons—

1. Palli; 2. Raidan. Masrak Samma one of Palli's sons, became a chief.

Raidan had nine sons—1. Samma, from whom all the Samejas descend; 2. Nutiar, from whom sprang all the Nuts; 3. Lakha, father of Lanjar; 4. Abra, who had a son called Dahir; 5. Nahiya; 6. Chanesar, who was a noted man of his time; 7. Manahia; 8. Korla—the descendants of these three form the tribe of Mindra; 9. Palli, who became a chief. Palli had two sons—1. Audh, whose sons were Bahria and Adeja, who was called Gudaria Putra (or the son of a shepherd); 2. Sand, who became the head of a tribe of that name. Sand had seven sons—1. Kaka, whose descendants are called Kakeja Putra; 2. Jara; 3. Dera; 4. Janeja; 5. Hankura, who had sons, Audheja, Jakia, Durha, and Hankuja; 6. Dera, whose descendants are the Dera Samma, of Kach; 7. Jam Hothi, who had five sons:—1. Hala, whose descendants are well known; 2. Hankura, whose descendants are bumiya of Dhuri, Hankura, Char Hankura, and Ram Deh, which places were founded by them; 3. Sahir, whose descendants founded Sahir Samma, and live there; 4. Chilaria, whose descendants are the tribe of Nahria; 5. Jam Hapar, who had two sons, viz., Rahuja and Jam Juna; the latter had a son named Kar Rahu, who had three sons—1. Sand, whose sons Ruhuma, Lakhaita, and Jhakra; 2. Sumra, who left no issue; 3. Lakha Jam, who had a son called Kaha, whose son was called Lakha. Kaha had also a post-humouse son, who was also called Kaha, after his father.

Lakha, son of Kaha, brother of Kaha before mentioned (*sic*) had twelve sons—1. Jam Juna, whose descendants are the Samma kings of Sind, who dwelt at Samui, and who will be mentioned in their proper places; 2. Unar, who ruled in Bahria, and died without issue; 3. Palli, from whom the Palli Sammas descend; 4. Kaha, from him are the Sudiari Sammas; 5. Auth,—the Auth Sammas, Sahil Sammas, and Sikhawat Sammas, spring from him; 6. Jaisur, whose son was Bahia Piria; 7. Mankar, who had no son; 8. Abra, the tribe of Abreja, are his descendants; 9. Hankura Kunwar; 10. Sultan Aut; 11. Raidan; 12. Lakha. Hankura Kunwar had three sons—1. Disar; 2. Manahia;

3. Muradia. Disar had five sons—1. Kaha; 2. Mala; 3. Rakan; 4. Hankura; 5. Juna, who had also five sons—1. Khoria; 2. Tajia; 3. Abra; 4. Buluch; 5. Pambiya.⁸ Such of the descendants of the latter as rested in Sind, will be mentioned in the history of the Samma kings.

Be it observed, that the Sammas are the owners of the land throughout Sind, as far as Guzerat, including also the greater part of Rajputana, and they form the majority of the population of Sind. The tribes of Buluch and Jat, and some others already spoken of, are also the ancient inhabitants of the land. Other tribes might be mentioned who succeeded, or even preceded these, but for the sake of brevity, the writer of this book contents himself with specifying only what is actually necessary. Should any one debate a more minute narrative, let him pursue the investigation himself.

*The Governors of Sind under the Ghaznivides and
their Successors*

The officers of Sultan Mas'ud possessed themselves of the country of Sind, in succession to those of Mahmud. Then followed the officers of Maudud, then the officers of Majdud; next the officers of Sultan Kutbu-d Din, and lastly, the officers of Aram Shah, who are all severally described in the first and second volumes. During the reign of the latter king, his dominions were parcelled into four divisions; one of which comprising Multan, the whole of Sind, and Uch, became subject to Nasiru-d din Kabacha. At that time the following seven Ranas in Sind were tributary to Multan:—1. Rana Buhnar Sa'ta Rathor, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela; 2. Rana Sanir, son of Dhamaj, of the tribe of Kureja Samma, residing in Tung, lying within the district of Rupah; 3. Jaisar, son of Jajji Machhi Solanki, of Maniktara;⁹ 4. Wakia, son of Pannun Channun, who was established in the valley of Siwi; 6. Channun, son of Dita, of the tribe of Channa, resident of Bhag-nai; 6. Jiya, son

⁸ [Or "Pambaniya."]

⁹ There is a Tara or Tarra, an old site ten miles south-west from Thatta.

of Wariah, of Jham, or Hemakot; 7. Jasodhan Akra, of Min-nagar district of Bimbarwa.

Further, when Lahore was taken by the officers of Taju-din Yalduz, Malik Nasiru-d din Kabacha took refuge in the city of Multan; and towards the end of the year 626 H. (1229 A.D.) Malik Khan Khilji and his people, became masters of the country of Siwistan. Sultan Shamsu-d din Iltamsh, having deputed his minister Nizamu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Asa'd, to besiege Uch, set out for Dehli. Uch surrendered quietly to Nizamu-l Mulk in A.H. 625 (1228 A.D.), and he then hastened to Bhakkar. Nasiru-d din fled, and the vessel of his life was swallowed in up the whirlpool of death. Sultan Shamsu-d din became lord of Sind. Nuru-d din Muhammad succeeded to the government in A.H. 630 (1233 A.D.) The Sultan Iltamsh died in A.H. 633 (1236 A.D.), and was succeeded by Sultan Mas'ud Shah. During the disturbed state of the country in his reign the army of the Moghals passed the Indus, and laid siege to Uch, but owing to the vigilance of Sultan Mas'ud they were repulsed and retired on Khurasan. Sultan Mas'ud left Malik Jalalu-d din Muhammad as governor of Sind, in the room of Nuru-d din Muhammad. During his government, Nasiru-d din Mahmud, uncle of Sultan Mas'ud, inherited the throne and crown.

In A.H. 662 (1264 A.D.), Sultan Ghiasu-d din ascended the throne of Dehli, and gave over the provinces of Lahore, Multan and Sind to his son, Sultan Muhammad, who used to go every third year to pay his respects to his father, and stay one year. In A.H. 682 (1283 A.D.), Sultan Muhammad was slain in battle against the army of Changiz Khan, and his son Kai Khusru was confirmed as successor to his father. Sultan Jalalu-d din Khilji on his arrival at Lahore in A.H. 692 (1293 A.D.), assigned the government of Multan and U'ch to his son Arkali Khan, and he appointed Nasrat Khan to the government of Sind. In A.H. 695 (1296 A.D.), Sultan 'Alau-d din, despatched his brother Ulugh Khan to expel Arkali Khan from his government, but, as usual, Nasrat Khan with 10,000 men retained possession of Multan, U'ch, Bhakkar,

Siwistan, and Thatta. In the beginning of 697 A.D. (1297 A.H.), the Saldai Moghals from Sistan, arrived and possessed themselves of Siwistan, but Nasrat Khan vigorously attacked them and freed it. Towards the close of his reign, Sultan 'Alau-d din despatched Ghazi Malik at the head of 10,000 horse to expel Changiz Khan's Moghals from Debalpur and gave him Multan, U'ch, and Sind in jagir.

Khusru Khan, having watched his opportunity, deposed 'Alau-d din, and became master of the throne.¹⁰ Ghazi Malik, marching up at the head of the Sind and Multan forces, expelled Khusru Khan and seated himself in his place under the style and title of Sultan Ghiasu-d din. At this interval, a number of the tribe of Sumra rose and possessed themselves of Thatta. Sultan Ghiasu-d din deputed Malik Taju-d din to Multan, and Khwaja Khatir to Bhakkar, and Malik 'Ali Sher to Siwistan. Sometime after, when Kashku Khan revolted in Multan, Sultan Muhammad Shah, son of Sultan Ghiasu-d din, arrived at Multan in A.H. 728 (1328 A.D.) and put him down. Then having deputed trusty persons to Bhakkar and Siwistan, he returned. In A.H. 751 (1350 A.D.), while in pursuit of the slave Taghi,¹¹ having traversed Guzerat and Kach, he arrived in the district of Thatta, and encamped at the village of Thari on the banks of a river. From thence he removed in consequence of an attack of fever, to Gandal,¹² where he got well. He then returned and encamped about four kos from Thatta, where he had a relapse of fever and died.

Sultan Firoz Shah succeeded him. Taghi, who was at Thatta, on learning this, hastened to give battle at the head of the tribes of Sumra, Jareja, and Samma, but was defeated. The Sultan quitted the environs of Thatta on the first day of the month of Safar of the above year, and ordered a fort to be built on the river Sankra ; and Amir Nasr was left there with 1000 horse. He founded a city

¹⁰ I do not attempt to correct the errors in the Dehli history, as given here. They do not occur in Mir M'asum's history, from which this chapter is abridged.

¹¹ ["Rebel."]

¹² This place is about thirty miles from Girnar or Junagarh.

called Nasrpur, and Malik Bahram was made ruler of it, and the surrounding districts. Bahrapur was named after him. Malik 'Ali Sher, and Malik Taj Kafuri were left in Siwistan, and the Sultan went to Bhakkar. He appointed Malik Ruknu-d din his vicegerent, and Malik 'Abdu-l Aziz as minister of finance, and garrisoned the fort with a body of chosen troops. He conferred the title of Ikhlas Khan on Malik Ruknu-d din, and entrusted him with the affairs of all Sind. He then went to Dehli. In A.H. 772 (1370 A.D.), after the conquest of Nagarkot he proceeded to Thatta, whose chief, Jam Khairu-d din retired to a fort upon the water, and there collected troops. Scarcity of provisions, and superabundance of mosquitos, forced the Sultan to return to Thatta. Jam Khairu-d din submitted, came in, and paid his respects. The Sultan carried him towards Delhi with all the other Zamindars, and when near Sihwan, upon learning that the Jam intended to flee, he had him put in chains. Some time after this, he invested Jam Juna, son of Khairu-d din with a *khil'at*, and appointed him to his father's post.

In A.H. 790 (1388 A.D.), Firoz Shah died, and was succeeded on the throne of Dehli by Sultan Tughlik Shah. Then followed Sultan Abu Bakr, Sultan Muhammad Shah, Sultan Sikandar Shah, and then Sultan Nasiru-d din, who sent Sarang Khan to take possession of Debalpur, Multan, and Sind.¹³

In A.H. 800 (1397 A.D.), Mirza Pir Muhammad, grandson of Amir Timur, crossed the river (Indus) and laid siege to the fort of U'ch. Malik 'Ali, who was there on behalf of Sarang Khan, kept him in check for a month, and Sarang Khan despatched Malik Taju-d din to his aid with 4000 men. Mirza Pir Muhammad then raised the siege, marched from U'ch, and defeated him. He then commenced the siege of Multan. After a siege of six months, Sarang Khan yielded and surrendered Multan. About this time, A.H. 801 (1398 A.D.), Timur himself arrived at Multan. From this time dates the downfall and cessation of the authority of the Sultans of Dehli

¹³ Here is a further error in the Dehli annals, which is not to be attributed to Mir M'asum.

over the governors of Sind, who raised the standard of independence, as will be now related.

The Tribe of Sumra

A portion of this tribe had got possession of parts of Sind before the time above-mentioned, so that the whole term of their authority may be reckoned at 550 years. Historians—observing their first appearance after the A'li Tamim, who were the last governors on the part of the 'Abbasides—date the rule of the tribe from that time. When, as we have related, the administration of the greater part of Sind was held by the officers of the Ghazni-vide and Ghorī kings, this tribe enjoyed full and undivided power. They sprang from the Arabs of Samra, as has been mentioned before, who arrived in Sind in the fourth century of the Hijra.

It is said that Chhota Amrani, brother of Dalu Rai Amrani, was so much grieved at his brother's injustice which occasioned the ruin of the city of Alor, and clouded the prosperity of the city of Bhambara, that he repaired to Baghdad and obtained from the Khalif 100 Arabs of Samra whom, with the 'Ulamai Musawi, he brought to Sind, of whom more hereafter. At last, Dalu Rai submitted to the Saiyid and gave him his daughter in marriage. The Saiyid settled in Sind, and left descendants, and the town of Mut'alwi is their abiding place.

In short, as we have before said, in A.H. 720 (1320 A.D.) Ghazi Malik marched on Dehli, with an army collected from Multan and Sind, and overthrew Khusru Khan. Then, ascending the throne, he assumed the style and title of Ghiasu-d din Tughlik Shah, and devoted himself to the government of his new dominions.

The Sumras then collected a force from the neighbourhood of Thari, and placed a man named Sumra on the throne. He settled the frontier of his country, and married the daughter of a zamindar named Sad, who had set up a claim to independence. To him was born a son named Bhungar, who on his death succeeded him in the government. After him, his son Duda brought the country as far as Nasrpur into his possession. Duda died,

leaving a son of tender age, named Singhar, so Tari, daughter of Duda, took the government into her hands, but made it over to her brother when he arrived at years of discretion. Singhar pushed his way in the direction of Kach, and subjected the country as far as Bang-nai. He left no son, so his wife Hemu appointed her brothers to the government of the cities of Tur and Thari. After a brief interval, a Sumra named Duda, who was ruling in the fort of Dhak, assembled his brethren from all sides, and extirpated the brethren of Hemu. At this juncture Dadu Phatu, a descendant of Duda, rebelled, and collecting a foreign force, he for some time carried on the government. After him, Khaira became ruler. Then Armil became the master of the state. So the Sammas rebelled and slew him. This happened in the year 752 Hijra (1351 A.D.). The history of this family, from its rise to its fall, the number of its princes, and the causes of its decline, are very discordantly narrated. Thus the *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh* says that when the sovereignty was inherited by 'Abdu-r Rashid, son of Mahmud, of Ghazni, it was soon perceived that he was lethargic and weak-minded. The men of Sind were therefore refractory and rebellious, and in the year 445 Hijra (1053 A.D.), the men of Sumra collected in the vicinity of Thari, and raised a man named Sumra to the seat of government. This man reigned independently for a long period, and, marrying the daughter of a zamindar named Sad, he died leaving a son named Bhungar as his successor. Bhungar, son of Sumra, reigned fifteen years, and died in the year 461 Hijra (1069 A.D.) His son Duda succeeded, and reigned twenty-four years, dying in 485 Hijra (1092 A.D.). After him Singhar reigned fifteen years; Khalif, thirty-six years; 'Umar, forty years; Duda, the second, fourteen years; Phatu, thirty-three years; Genhra,¹⁴ sixteen years; Muhammad Tur, fifteen years; Genhra,¹⁵ several years; Dua,¹⁵ fourteen years; Tai,¹⁵ twenty-four years; Chanesar, eighteen years; Bhungar, fifteen years; Khalif, eighteen years; Duda, twenty-five years; 'Umar Sumra, thirty-five

¹⁴ ["Ghenra" in one MS.]

¹⁵ [These three names are found only in the best of the two MSS.]

years ; Bhungar, ten years. Hamir then succeeded, but he was a tyrant, and the Samma tribe overthrew him. The rise of this family is related in various ways, and several rulers are mentioned besides those above enumerated ; their fall, also, is described in many incongruous ways. 'Umar Sumra gave his name to the fort of 'Umarkot.

The Story of Mumal and Mendra

One of the most remarkable events of his (Hamir Sumra's) time is the story of Mumal and Mendra, which is told thus :—A woman named Mumal, of the family of the Gujar chiefs, on the death of her father, ruled over his lands, and built a lofty palace on the outskirts of the city outside which she, by magic art, conducted a stone canal like a river across the entrance of the palace ; and she planted two life-like lions of terrible aspect, cut in stone, at the doorway, and within the ordinary sitting-room seven sofas were placed, covered with stuff of one design, six of which coverings were made of unspun thread, and underneath each sofa a deep well was dug. She then caused it to be given out that she would choose for her husband him who should pass the river and the lions, and sagaciously seat himself on the right seat. Many men were tempted to a trial, but none attained their object ; nay, they stepped into the well of annihilation.

One day, Hamir Sumra went out hunting with three of his suite, one of whom was Rana Mendra, his minister's wife's brother. He happened to meet a travelling Jogi, who so extolled the beauty of Mumal, that Hamir Sumra felt a great desire to see her. Taking his attendants with him, they turned their heads to the direction indicated, and on reaching its vicinity put up within view of the palace. Mumal, on learning of their arrival, despatched a sharp slave girl to ascertain their quality, and bring the most important person of the party to be hospitably entertained.

First Hamir went with the girl, but she outsstripped him ; and he, on beholding that deep imaginary river, returned without attaining his object, and for very shame

said nothing. The next night the girl came again, and bade one of the other strangers accompany her, but he also returned as Hamir had done. On the third night, the same thing happened to the third man. On the fourth night, Rana Mendra set out with the girl, and when she wished to precede him, according to her custom, he seized the skirt of her garment, and put her behind, saying that it was not proper for slave girls to precede their masters. When he reached the visionary river he was puzzled for a moment. On sounding the depth of the water with the lance which he had in his hand, he found it had no real existence. He at once passed over, and saw the lions at the gate, but throwing his spear at them, he found they were not really alive.

He then pursued his object, entered the palace, and went into the sofa room; there he saw seven sofas or thrones, all of the same kind, and thought to himself that one of them must be especially intended to sit on, and that perhaps there was some deception about them. He then probed each with his spear, found out the substantial one, and sat down cross-legged upon it. The girl informed Mumal of the circumstances, and of his sagacity. She instantly came out, they were mutually pleased with each other, and the marriage knot was firmly tied. Mendra passed the night in rapturous enjoyment, and repaired early in the morning to the presence of Hamir and his friends, to whom he related his adventures. Hamir said, "As the woman has now become your own, you must be pleased to let me see her once." Accordingly, at night. Mendra took Hamir with him, dressed as a shepherd. Hamir bore the Rana some ill-will for having set aside the respect due to him; he therefore carried him off to his own city, and placed him under arrest. As Mendra had given his heart to Mumal, he, with the privity of his guards, every night secretly mounted a very swift shedromedary, who could perform five ordinary day's journey and back again in a single night, and having seen his beloved, and enjoyed the charms of her company, returned to his prison.

It chanced that one night Mumal had gone to see her

sister. Mendra returned, and suspecting something wrong, became displeased, and gave up going any more. The innocent Mumal was greatly distressed at Mendra's displeasure, and quitted her own residence and country. Having arrived at the city where Mendra dwelt, she built a palace adjoining his, and had windows placed opposite to his windows that she might sometimes see him. Mendra, shrouded in displeasure, closed his windows on that side, and Mumal then built a palace opposite another face of Mendra's, and so on, opposite to each of its four faces, but did not succeed in seeing her beloved. At last, when Mumal saw that Mendra had entirely averted the face of regard from her, she breathed a sigh of anguish, and, wounded by despair, gave up her life. Intelligence of this was conveyed to Mendra, and since a lover powerfully affects the heart of the beloved, and as the attraction of hearts in the world of unity tends to one and the same object, he instantly, on hearing these lamentable tidings, sighed and expired. This story is sung in Sindi verse at certain established places, and religious devotees are transported to raptures and heavenly visions of Divine love, on hearing it. A certain Mulla Mukim has written this story in Persian verse, and called it "Tarannum-i 'Ishk," or the song of love.¹⁶

Story of Chanesar and Laila

A girl named Kaunru, daughter of the powerful and renowned Rana Khangar was betrothed to her cousin. Being incomparably beautiful, the young lady gave herself great airs among her associates. At that time no one could be compared to Chanesar, of Dewal, for beauty of person, store of wealth, extent of territory, or force of authority, and an alliance with him was earnestly desired by many beauties. One day a girl named Jamni, one of Kaunru's companions, said to her, tauntingly, "Perhaps you entertain thoughts of being married to Chanesar, since you practise so many fine airs, and are so affected." This taunt pierced Kaunru's heart, and without even

¹⁶ Lt. Burton has given this tale in a more attractive form, in his *Sindh*, pp. 114-123.

having seen Chanesar's face, she became desperately in love with him, and almost beside herself. When Marghin, her mother, found this out, she apprised Rana Khangar of it. As a matrimonial alliance with Chanesar was the greatest honour of the day, and there seemed no way of accomplishing that except by stratagem, the Rana advised Marghin to take their daughter in the garb of a merchant to Chanesar's town, without letting any one know of her so doing, and before Kaunru should become the victim of despair, and thus perhaps Chanesar himself might become ensnared in the net of good contrivance. Agreeably to this recommendation, Marghin set out with her daughter and some merchandize, crossed the river Parpat, and leaving her own country of Dhat, soon entered the Dewal territory, and arrived at the city where Chanesar lived. She sent a message through a gardener's wife, to Jhakra, Chanesar's Wazir, intimating her desire for a union. Chanesar—devoted to Laila, whose beauty and charms might excite the jealousy of the celebrated Laila—returned for answer that he wished for none but Laila, bade the gardener's wife beware of bringing more such messages to him, and directed the new comers to be sent away, lest Laila should hear of them, and be annoyed. On being informed of this Marghin sold her merchandise, and went one day into the presence of Laila, in the garb of a poor stranger beggar woman, saying:—"Adverse circumstances have driven me and my daughter far from our own country; in spinning thread we have no equals, if you will kindly take us as your slaves, we will so serve you as to merit general approval." Laila took them both, and was pleased with their work. After some time, the arrangements of Chanesar's bed-chamber became Kaunru's special charge. Kaunru one night thought of her own country, and of her splendid position there, and her eyes filled with tears. Chanesar, seeing this, asked her what was the matter. She answered that she had raised the wick of the lamp, and then scratched her eye with the hand with which she did it, which brought the tears into her eye. On hearing this, Laila was very pressing to learn the truth, and Kaunru, after much pressing, said, "The

truth is, I am the daughter of a sovereign, of such wealth, that the lustre of his jewels serves him for night-lights; hence the smoke of the lamp confused my brain, and the recollection of past days entered my head, and I wept that they were no more."

Laila asked her for proof of the truth of this pretension; she instantly produced a most delicate dress, such as Laila had never seen, with a necklace worth nine lakhs of rupees. Laila was charmed with such precious rareties, and desired to have them. Kaunru and Marghin said, 'We will give them on condition that you give us Chanesar for one night.' As most women are wanting in understanding, she agreed to the terms, and one night, when Chanesar was drunk, she made him over to Kaunru. Chanesar passed the entire night in unconsciousness, and when he awoke in the morning, was astonished at finding who it was he had in his bosom. Kaunru's mother was all night on the alert as to what should happen. Finding in the morning that her daughter's object was not accomplished, she began muttering from behind the curtain, "how strange it is that Laila should sell such a husband as Chanesar for a mere necklace! and that he should be ignorant of this; it is not fitting that a man should again consort with such a wife." Chanesar hearing this, looked lovingly on Kaunru; she told him the whole particulars of her story from beginning to end. He then said:—"Since the case is thus, be of good heart, for I am no more Laila's, and I will love you with my whole heart."

On Laila hearing of what had taken place, all her stratagems were futile, her constant union was changed to utter separation. After the lapse of a long time, she returned to her paternal village, and passed her time in solitude. Before this affair, a girl from the family of Laila had been betrothed to the minister Jhakra; but after what had happened to Laila her relations would not give the girl to him. As he was bent on the match, he tried many devices to bring about the marriage, but all in vain. Laila sent word to him that if he could by any means contrive to bring Chanesar with him, she

would pledge herself his desired marriage should take place.

On receiving this message, Jhakra, with much ado, persuaded Chanesar to accompany him to Laila's village. Laila changed her dress, and putting on the garb of a woman who bears the message of assignation, veiled her face, and entered the presence of Chanesar, when she spoke reproachfully of the relation in which he stood to Laila. During the conversation, she played off some coquettish airs, and captivated Chanesar without his knowing who she was. As all Chanesar's abandonment of Laila, and unkindness too, arose from jealousy, and he was in reality as much attached to her as ever, on the remembrance of the joys of the time of his union with her he became beside himself, and said, "O sweet-tongued girl! thou thyself art the rarest of beauties! How long wilt thou talk of Laila? Speak to me of thyself, for my heart yearns to thee!" She replied: "How can the heart love one faithless as thou?" On hearing her speech, Chanesar wished to tear her veil off; but Laila, who was herself her own messenger, at the very height of his ardour, unveiled herself with her own hand. When Chanesar saw that she was indeed Laila, he suddenly drew a cold sigh from his sorrowful heart and expired. On seeing this, Laila, too, uttered one groan and fell down lifeless. The pair were burned according to custom, and their strange story is well remembered by the people, and is the theme of a popular and moving song in the Saudi tongue. Idra'ki Beg-Lar composed a Persian poem on this story; the present writer, for fear of prolixity, has satisfied himself with relating thus much of it.

* * * *

Nawwab Murid Khan

He was by birth the son of a Raja, and newly converted to the Muhammadan faith. In the year 1099 H. (1688 A.D.) corresponding with the 31st year of the reign, he was appointed to the government of Thatta. It is said, that several thousand Rajputs accompanied him. When he arrived at the ferry, he learnt that it was necessary to

pass through the butcher's shambles where cows were slaughtered, before he could reach the citadel. So he despatched a message to Kazi Muhammad Husain, the Kazi of the city, saying that he had with him a large body of Hindu Rajputs, and requesting him to remove the shops of the cow-slaying butchers from the passage of the bazar, lest they should give offence to his followers, and some disturbance should arise. As the institutions of the king, the defender of the law, were not tolerant of the threats and menaces of such persons, the most worshipful Kazi, that very night, directed the butchers to double the number of their usual stalls, and place them on both sides of the roads. When the governor heard of this, seeing it would be useless to act in opposition to His Majesty, the defender of the faith, he was compelled to pass according to the fashion observed by his predecessors. He remained two years in Thatta, during which his army gave much trouble to the Musulmans. Upon a representation made by the chief residents, a royal order was received directing him to abandon his ridiculous crotchets and consider himself removed from the government of Musulmans. When he was dismissed, he remained for some time at the fort of Tughlikabad, better known as Kalankot, as he found the air suited to the complaint under which he was suffering, of weakness of sight. The king, out of regard to him, did not oppose this arrangement, but when his successor arrived at Thatta, he was summoned to the court. Some of the present defences and buildings of the fort of Tughlikabad are of his construction.

APPENDIX

GEOGRAPHICAL*

[Sir H. ELLIOT in his introductory remarks on Al Biruni's geographical chapter, observed that before the time of that writer "the whole of Upper India was a perfect *terra incognita*, and the Arabians knew much less of it than Pliny and Ptolemy." The geographical extracts published in a previous volume, fully prove the justice of this observation. Multan, Mansura, Alor, and other places of note in the valley of the Indus, were visited by their early travellers, and the ports upon the coast, especially those about the Gulf of Cambay, were also known from the reports of their mariners. All beyond this was vague, and evidently drawn from hearsay information. Their scanty knowledge is farther shown by the identity of much that was written on the subject. Sulaiman and Ma'sudi drew their information from the same or very similar sources; and a great part of Istakhri's and Ibn Haukal's description is verbatim the same, so that there can be no doubt that one copied from the other. In Biruni we have ample evidence of a much wider knowledge, not always accurate, not always intelligible at the present time, but still showing that he had acquired, either by personal travel or by diligent investigation, a fair general knowledge of the topography of Hindustan, and even of parts beyond.¹ Idrisi gives a full compilation from the works of his predecessors, with some additional matter from sources now lost to us, but he does not appear to have used the writings

* See "Early Arab Geographers".

¹ He cannot be absolved from the blunder of having placed Thanesar in the Doab, but the further error of locating Muttra on the east of the Jumna is due to his translators. All the versions of *Rashidu-d din* say that the river lies on the east of the city, (*Wabar sharqi shahar jam aftadeh*). See first edition pp. 73, 97. Reinaud's Fragments, 82, 100.]

of Biruni, and his work is blemished by many false spellings.]

Sir H. Elliot endeavoured to identify and fix the position of several of the most important and interesting of the places mentioned by the early geographers and historians, and some additions have since been made, chiefly from sources unpublished at the time when his original volume appeared. The following is a list of the places :

Kingdoms :—The Balhara, Juzr or Jurz, Tafaṇ, Rahma, Ruhmi and Kashbin.

Cities and Towns :—Agham—The Lohanas, Alor, Amhal, Famhal, etc., Armabel, Askalanda, Baniya, (Batiya), Bhambur, Brahmanabad, (Mansura, Mahfuza), Debal (Karachi, Thatta, and Lahori-bandar), Hala-kandi (the Hellenes, Pindus), Jandrud, Kaikanan (Kaikan, Kakars), Kajuraha, Kallari (Annari, and Ballari), Kandabel (Taran, Budha, Baiza), Kannazbur, Mandal, Kiraj Manjabari, Minnagara, Narana, Nirun (Sakura, Jarak), Sadusan, Samui, (Tughlikabad, Kala-kot), Sindan (Subara, Saimur), Tur, (Muhatampur, Dirak, etc.).

Balhara

The early Arab Geographers are unanimous in their spelling of the title "Balhara." The merchant Sulaiman says it is a title similar to the Chosroes of the Persians, and not a proper name. Ibn Khurdadba says that it signifies "King of Kings." According to Mas'udi it is a title borne by all the kings of the country, while Ibn Haukal states that it is a name derived from that of the country. Idrisi follows Ibn Khurdadba in giving to it the signification of "Kings of Kings," but, he adds, that the title was hereditary. Thus it seems clear that it was the general title of a dynasty, and that it must have borne some such signification as that assigned to it by Ibn Khurdadba.

Taking the accounts of the Arab writers, and comparing them with the Indian annals, there can be no great hesitation in identifying the "Balhara" with the dynasty settled at Ballabhi-pura, the princes of which were the founders of the Ballabhi era, and were probably known as the Ballabhi or Ballabh Rais. This identification,

originally proposed by Colonel Tod, has met with tacit acquiescence, except from M. Reinaud, who considered the term "Balhara" to represent Malwa Rai or "King of Malwa."²

Ballabhi-pura was, according to Tod, "destroyed in the fifth century, by an irruption of the Parthians, Getes, Huns or Catti, or a mixture of these tribes."³ In another place he gives the date of this event from Jain records as A.D. 524.⁴ And in a further passage he says, that after the destruction of Ballabhi-pura, its princes "fled eastward, eventually obtaining Chitor, when the Islands of Deo and Somnath-pattan, in the division termed Larika, became the seat of government. On its destruction, in the middle of the eighth century, Anhalwara became the metropolis, and this, as recorded, endured until the fourteenth century."⁵ Hwen Tsang visited Balabhi in the seventh century, and Thomas gives the date of its destruction as 802 Samvat (745 A.D.).⁶ The ruins of the city are well known, being situate about twenty miles west of Bhownuggur, in Kattiwar; and the name survives in that of the modern town of Wallay, which stands near them.⁷

Hindu authorities thus record the removal of the seat of government to the country of Larike or Lata, which country Mas'udi names as being subject to the Balhara, and which the other writers describe as forming part of his dominions.

The capital of the Balhara is stated by Mas'udi to be "Mankir (or Manakir) the *great centre* of India," and to be situated "eighty Sindi parasangs (640 miles) from the sea," a palpable exaggeration. Istakhri and Ibn Haukal say that 'Mankir is the city in which the Balhara dwells, but they do not name it in their lists of the cities of Hind. Biruni and Idrisi make no mention of it. The unavoidable inference is that the place had fallen to decay, and

² [*Rel. des Voyages*, xciv. Mem. sur l'Inde, 138, 144.]

³ [Travels I. 23.]

⁴ [Annals I. 217.]

⁵ [Tod, Travels I. 213.]

⁶ [Thomas' *Prinsep* Useful Tables, p. 158.]

⁷ [*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, xiii. p. 146.]

was known only by tradition in the days of these Arab writers.

The name Mankir or Manakir bears a suggestive resemblance to "Minagara," a city which Ptolemy places on the Nerbadda, among the cities of Larike. Both are probably representatives of the Sanskrit *maha-nagara*, "great city." Mankir is said to mean "great centre," so that the word *maha* (great) must be represented by the first syllable *ma*; and the other syllables *nakir* or *nâkir* are by no means a bad Arabic transcription of "Nagara," for the alphabet would not allow of a closer version than *nakar*. In Minagara, the word *nagara*, "city" is unquestionable. Ptolemy mentions another Minagara on the East coast, somewhere near the Mahanadi river, and Arrian, in the *Periplus*, has another Minagara in the valley of the Indus. The syllable *mi* would therefore seem to be a common appellative, having no local or ethnological import, but corresponding with *maha* or some similar word.

The bearings of Minagara and of some of the neighbouring places are thus stated by Ptolemy:—

Minagara	..	..	115° 15'	×	19° 30'
Barygaza Emporium (Broach)			113 15	×	17 20
Siripalla	..	..	116 30	×	21 30
Xeragere	..	..	116 20	×	19 50
Ozene (Ujjain)	..	..	117 00	×	20 00
Tiatura	..	..	115 50	×	18 50
Nasica (Nasik)	..	..	114 00	×	17 00
Namadi fluvii fontes a monte					
Vindio	..	..	127 00	×	26 30
Fluvii flexio juxta Siripalla	..	..	116 30	×	22 00

There is a palpable error in these statements of Ptolemy, for he places Ujjain to the south of Nerbadda, and two degrees south of the bend of the river near Siripalla. But Ujjain lies to the north of the Nerbadda, and the river has no noticeable bend in this quarter. The river Mahi, however, has a very great bend; Ujjain lies to the south of it, and the respective bearings are more in agreement, so that the two rivers would here seem to have been confounded.

Tiatura may be Talner, and Xeragere may be Dhar, as Lassen supposes, for these are situated on well-known roads, and as General Cunningham forcibly observes, Ptolemy's geography must have been compiled from routes of merchants. Comparing the bearings of the various places, Minagara would seem to have been situated somewhere between Dhar and Broach. Lassens identifies Minagara with Balabhi-pura, but this city was situated too far west.

The neighbourhood of Dhar is exactly the locality in which Idrisi would at first sight seem to place Nahrwara or Nahlwara, which he leads us to infer was the capital of the Balhara in his time. This city, he tells us, was situated eight days' journey inland from Broach, through a flat country. The towns of Hanawal (or Janawal) and Dulka lie between them, and Dulka is situated on the river (Nerbadda) which forms the estuary on which Broach stands, and at the foot of a chain of mountains called Undaran, lying to the north. Near Hanawal there is another town called Asawal. This description is inconsistent, for Asawal is an old name of Ahmadabad, and that city lies to the north far away from the Nerbadda. Abu-l Fida seems to rectify this, for he declares Cambay to be the port of Nahrwara, which city he says is three days' journey from a port. He refers to Abu Rihan as spelling the name Nahlwara, and on turning back elsewhere, it will be seen that this is his orthography. The city described by Abu Rihan and Abu-l Fida is undoubtedly Anhalwara Pattan, and if Cambay be substituted for Broach in Idrisi's description, the account, so far as we understand it, will be consistent with itself and with the other writers. Cambay stands at the head of the bay which bears its name, between the mouths of the Sabarmati on the west, and the Mahi on the east. Asawal or Ahmadabad is on the left bank of the former, and the Aravalli chain of mountains lies to the north of Anhalwara. Idrisi specially mentions the bullock carriages of Nahrwara, and those of Guzerat are still famous. Lastly, no Nahrwara is known near the river Nerbadda. Thus Ptolemy and Idrisi would both seem to have confounded

the river of Broach (the Nerbadda) with those of Cambay (Sabarmati and Mahi).

Hwen Tsang, who travelled in India between 629 and 645 A.D., visited the kingdom of "*Fa-la-pi*" (Vallabhi), but his account does not help to settle the locality of the capital, for he only says that it was a journey of 1000 *li* (166½ miles) north from Malwa. The kings were of Kshatriya race, and were connected with the sovereigns of Kanya-kubja, the reigning monarch, Dhruva Bhatta, being son-in-law either of King Siladitya or of that king's son.

The "Balhara" would thus seem to represent, as Tod affirmed, the Ballabh Rais of Ballabhi-pura who were succeeded by the Bala Rais of Anhalwara Pattan. Their territories included the ports in the country of Lata (Larika) on the gulf of Cambay. These ports were frequented by Arab trading vessels, and so the accounts given as they are, exceed all that is recorded by them of the other contemporary kingdoms. The extent of the Balhara's other cotemporary kingdoms. The extent of the Balhara's territory can only be surmised, and no doubt it underwent continual change. Mas'udi, by implication, places Tanna within his dominions, but this is farther south than would seem to be warranted. The Tapti on the south, and the Aravalli mountains on the north may perhaps represent an approximation to the real extent of the kingdom. This may appear a limited dominion for a monarch of such renown as the Arabs represent the Balhara to have been; but it must be remembered that these writers were accustomed to a simple patriarchal form of government, free from the pomp and splendour of the further east.

There are copper records extant showing that in the first half of the fourth century grants of land in the neighbourhood of Jambusir were made by the Gurjjara rajas and by the Chalukyas. The latter were of a Rajput tribe, and would then appear to have been making their way southwards to the scene of their subsequent power. In 812 A.D., just before the time of the merchant Sulaiman, a grant was made by the 'Lateswara,' that is, "King of Lata," but the names therein recorded have not been

identified with those in any of the dynastic lists. Allowing for the omissions not unusual in such grants, there is a Dhruva who may correspond with the Dhruva Bhatta of Hwen Tsang.

Juzr or Jurz

but the Paris edition of Mas'udi has Juzr, which the Sulaiman and Ibn Khurdadba write the name "Jurz" editors understand as signifying Guzerat. Abu Zaid says incidentally that Kanauj is "a large country forming the empire of Jurz;"⁸ and relying upon this statement M. Reinaud identifies Jurz with Kanauj.⁹ But Mas'udi locates the Bauura at Kanauj, and speaks of Juzr as quite a distinct kingdom. Sulaiman and Mas'udi concur in making the country border on the kingdoms of the Rahma and the Balhara, and the former says that the country is situated on a tongue of land, and is rich in camels and horses. "Juzr" closely resembles the name "Guzerat," especially in its Arabic form "Juzarat" and the other known conditions are satisfied by this identification. Guzerat is a peninsula, it bordered on the dominions of the Balhara, and the horses of Kattiwar are still famous.

Hwen Tsang visited the "kingdoms of *Su-la-cha* or Surashtra, and *Kiu-che-lo* or Gurjjara, after that of Vallabhi, but, according to his expositor, M. Vivien de St. Martin, *Su-la-cha* (*Surashtra*) represents the modern Guzerat, and *Kiu-che-lo* (*Gurjjara*) "the country of the Gujars" between Anhalwara and the Indus. This location of the two territorial names differs from the generally received acceptation of their meaning, and rests entirely upon the expositor's interpretation of Hwen Tsang's confused statements—the only arguments adduced in its favour, being a proposed identification of *Pi-lo-mo-lo*, which Hwen Tsang gives as the name of the capital of *Kiu-chu-lo*, with the modern *Balmer*; and an ethnological theory that the Gujars *might* have given their name to this country in the course of their migrations. But no example of such an application of the name is adduced,

⁸ [Ante. The Arabic text gives the name as "Juz."]]

⁹ [Rel. des Voyages, xcv. Mem. sur l'Inde, 206.]

and Hwen Tsang himself in another passage accurately describes this very country as being north of *Kiu-che-lo*, and stretching "1900 *li* ($316\frac{1}{2}$ miles), a travers des plaines sauvages et des deserts dangereux" to the river Indus. The Sanskrit *Surashtra* and *Gurjjara* survive in the modern names *Surat* and *Guzerat*, and, however the territories embraced by the old terms may have varied, it is hard to conceive that *Surat* was not in *Surashtra* nor *Guzerat* in *Gurjjara*. All evidence goes to prove that the old and modern names applied to the same places. Thus, Ptolemy's *Surastrene* comprises *Surat*, and the grants of the "Rajas of *Gurjjara*" dated in the early part of the fourth century, conveyed land in the vicinity of *Jambusara* or "Jumbooseer."—Biruni shows what the Muhammadans understood by *Guzerat* in his day, and while *Guzerat* answers to the "*Juzr*," of his predecessors, the supposed "country of the Gujars" does not, for that cannot be said to be "tongue of land."

The fact is that there is great confusion in this part of Hwen Tsang's itinerary, and his bearings are altogether untrustworthy. In the first volume he says, "Du cote de l'ouest ce royaume (*Surashtra*) touche a la riviere *Mahi*;" but in vol. ii. p. 165, he says "La capitale touche du cote de l'ouest a la riviere *Mo-hi* (*Mahi*)."
A very material difference. The first statement is quite in agreement with the true position of *Surashtra*. Hwen Tsang represents his route to have proceeded north from *Kach* to *Vallabhi*. This error, M. Vivien de Saint-Martin observes, renders it necessary to reverse the direction, and he adds, "Ceci est une correction capitale qui affecte et rectifie toute la suite de l'itineraire." If it is thus necessary to reverse the north and south, may it not be also necessary to do the same with the east and west? No such general correction, however, will set matters right; for Hwen Tsang says correctly that he proceeded south-east from *Gurjjara* to *Ujjain*. It is curious, moreover, that M. V. de Saint-Martin does not adhere to his "correction capitale," for Hwen Tsang states that he went north from *Vallabhi* to *Gurjjara* and his expositor places *Gurjjara* to the north,

Tafan

while according to his own canon it ought to be *south*.¹⁰ Sulaiman writes the name "Tafak;" Ibn Khurdadba and Mas'udi have "Tafan." Reinaud cites also the variations "Takan" and "Taban." Founding his opinion on the statement as to the beauty of the women, whom he supposes to be Mahrattas, Reinaud places this country in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad.¹¹ His argument is amusing, but is untenable, for it is inconsistent with the account given of the country by the Arab writers. Mas'udi says, "Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea, like the king of Kashmir, the king of Tafan, and others;" and again, "the Mihran (Indus) comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Bauura, and from Kashmir, Kandahar and Tafan." Sulaiman says that "Tafak" lies by the side of the kingdom of Juzr, and this is inconsistent with Reinaud's view of Juzr being Kanauj and Tafak being Aurangabad; for if Juzr be Guzerat, Tafak must be placed to the north of it, as the dominions of the Balhara were on the south-east. The mountains in this direction are, first, the Aravali mountains; next, the Salt-range, and lastly, the Himalayas. In Kazwini there is a notice of the fort of "Taifand," subdued by Mahmud of Ghazni, in the year 1023 A.D.¹² This fort he represents as being on the summit of a mountain, to which there was only one way of access, and when taken, there were 500 elephants in the place. The names are sufficiently similar, and the descriptions point to the same locality. In the absence of more definite information, the Salt-range seems to comply most closely with what we are told about the position of Tafand.

Rahma or Ruhmi

According to Sulaiman, this State is bordered by those of Balhara, Juzr and Tafand, and is constantly at war with

¹⁰ [Stanislas Julien's "*Hiouen Thsang*," *Map and Memoire Analytique*. Thomas' Prinsep I. 260; *Vishnu Purana*, p. 177; *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. I. p. 247, N.S.]

¹¹ [*Rel. des Voy. ci.*]

¹² [*Ante.*]

the two former. Mas'udi says it stretches along the sea and continent, and is bounded inland by a kingdom called Kaman. He adds that Rahma is the title of their kings, and generally their name also. They had great strength in troops, elephants, and horses. Reinaud says it "appears to correspond with the ancient kingdom of Visapour,"¹³ but it is difficult to fix the locality of this kingdom. The name is probably the Sanskrit Rama. The use of kauris for money, the extremely fine cotton fabrics, and the existence of the rhinoceros in the country, would point to a locality on the Bay of Bengal about Dacca and Arracan. If the neighbouring kingdom, which Mas'udi calls Kaman, is the same as that which Ibn Khurdadba calls Kamrun and places on the borders of China, there can be no doubt that Kamrup or Assam is intended, and this identification, which is exceedingly probable, will confirm the locality of Dacca as the probable site of the kingdom of Rahma. The accounts of this kingdom and of Kamrup were probably gathered by the Arab writers from mariners who had visited the ports in the Bay of Bengal, and their ignorance of the interior of the country led them to infer that the territories of the Balhara on the western coast were conterminous with those of Rahma on the eastern side.

Kashbin

Tod identifies Kashbin with Kach Bhuji, while Reinaud supposes it to be Mysore.¹³ All the description given of it is that it is an inland country, so that in the absence of any closely resembling Indian name, its locality is a mere matter of guess.

Agham.—The Lohanas

Agham, or Agham-knot lies about thirty miles south-east from Haidarabad, and though now almost forgotten, it was formerly a place of some consequence. Its position is not very easily identified, and the name is rarely introduced into the maps. In Lt. Burton's it seems to be entered under the name of "Angoomanoo," and in the

¹³ [*Rel. des Voy. cii.*]

Quartermaster-General's map of 1850, under that of "Aghamama."

The *Beg-Lar Nama* says it is on the Rain. The *Tuhfatul Kiram* mentions it among the towns on the Sankra. Capt. McMurdo says it is on the Lohana Darya; but he strangely fixes its site at Kalakot, seven miles to the west of Thatta, observing erroneously that it is not mentioned till long after the Arab conquest. Its position may be indicated at present as lying between the Guni and the Rain; but it does not follow that it will answer to that description next year, as the course of these streams is constantly shifting.

It is also called Agham Lohana. In the *Chach-nama*, we find frequent mention of a chief under that name, who was governor of Brahmanabad in the time of Chach. Lohana is the designation of a powerful tribe, which at that period, under an apparent confusion of terms, is said to have included both the Samma and Lakha clans. It can merely mean that they were then in a position of comparative subordination. Under all the vicissitudes the Lohanas have undergone, they still retain their credit, as well as their religion, and constitute the most influential tribe in Sind, whether regarded as merchants or officials. But, not confined within that narrow province, they have spread their ramifications beyond the western borders of India, and are found dispersed throughout Afghanistan, Buluchistan, and Arabia, exposed to inconveniences, insults and dangers of no ordinary kind, in pursuit of their darling object of wealth, and final return to their native soil to enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The Lohanas derive their name and origin from Lohanpur in Multan. The date of their emigration must have been very early, and even their own traditions do not attempt to fix it. Their subdivisions are said to amount at least to fifty, the chief of them being the Khudabadi and Sihwani. They all of them wear the Janeo, or Brahmanical thread. Though, for the most part, they worship the Hindu deities, a few have adopted the faith of Baba Nanak. They are described, by an accurate observer, as eating meat, addicted to spirituous liquors, not objecting

to fish and onions, drinking water from the hand of their inferiors as well as superiors in caste, and being neither frequent nor regular in their devotions.

As the town of Agham is mentioned as early as the time of Muhammad Kasim, we may presume that it derived its name from the Lohana chieftain above-mentioned, who was the contemporary and opponent of Chach.¹⁴

Alor

This name is found in various forms—Mas'udi calls it Al Rur; Ibn Khurdadba writes Al Daur; Istakhri has Al Ruz, and Al Rur. The *Ashkalu-l Bilad* has Aldur, and Alrur; Gildemeister makes Ibn Haukal's version to be Ruz and Alruz; Biruni's spelling is ambiguous; Idrisi has Dur. The *Marasidu-l Ittila'* has Al Rur. The ruins of the town lie between Bhakkar and Khairpur, and are known by the name of Alor. Lieut. Maclagan says that it is also called Aror and that the *band* spoken of by Burnes is really an arched bridge. [There can be little doubt of the first syllable being the Arabic *al*, and the real name Rur, as it survives in the modern town of Rori, which stands close by the ruins of Alor.]

Amhal, Famhal, Kamhal, or Mamhal

The name of the border town between Sind and Hind appears in many forms. Istakhri had Amhal, Famhal, and Kamhal; the *Askalu-l Bilad* has Famhal in the text, but Kamhal in the map. Gildemeister's Ibn Haukal has Kamuhul. Idrisi has Mamhal; Abu-l Fida has Kamhal, but a note states that a MS. of Ibn Haukal gives the name as Famhal. The *Marasidu-l Ittila'* has both Kamhal and Mamhal, giving Biladuri as authority for the latter. Careless writing and the omission of sometimes of one, sometimes of two points, will account for the various readings of Famhal, Kamhal, and Mamhal, and taking this view of the question, Kamhal would appear to be the

¹⁴ Compare, Chach-nama, MS. pp. 39, 41, 49, 66, 144, 195, 200. Beg-Lar-nama MS. p. 73. Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS. p. 143. Captain McMurdo, Journal of the Royal As. Soc., Vol. I. p. 24, 30, 247. Lieut. Burton, Sindh, pp. 314-317, 338-342.

best reading. Looking, however, at its reported position, at two-thirds of the distance between Mansura and Kam-baya, it would appear to answer to Anhalwara, and, if so, Istakhri's solitary reading "Amhal" is right. *Wara* is a common noun, signifying "field."¹⁵

Arma-bel

The name of this place frequently occurs during the early period of Arab connection with Sind; but neither its orthography nor position can be established with certainty. The *Chach-nama*, in different passages, calls it Armael, Armana-bil, Armapilla, and Armabel. The *Futuhu-l buldan* has Armail; which M. Reinaud reads Armâyl, but considers the true reading to be Armabyl, for the reason given in the note.¹⁶ Ibn Khurdadba and Istakhri write Armabil; Ibn Haukal according to the *Ashkalu-l Bilad* has Armail, and Armabil; Gildemeister, his translator, reads it as Armail, and suggests Armabil as preferable.¹⁷ The *Nubian Geographer* has Armiyael and Armayil, which his translator gives as Ermail. The translator of *Idrisi* has the same. Abu-l Fida, with his usual pretensions to accuracy, pronounces it Armabil. The *Marasidu-l Ittila'* has Arma-il. Ouseley prefers Armaiel. An old and rare Persian lexicon writes it as Armabal.¹⁸ The *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* has Armanbila, Armanpela, or some similar name. It is not entered in any modern map which I have seen, except that in Rees' *Cyclopaedia*, where it receives the name of Ermajil, evidently derived from the map in the French or Dutch edition of Abbe Prevost's *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, Vol. xv., where it bears the same name, and is apparently set down from the statement of the Nubian Geographer. It is not in Ouseley's small map, prefixed to his *Epitome of the*

¹⁵ [Ritter, v. 550.]

¹⁶ Candabyl et Armabyl sont peut-etre l'equivalent de Cand de Abyl, Arm de Abyl. Dans cette hypothese Abyl serait le nom primitif de la province. En effet, Alestakhry et Ibn-Haucal s'accordent a dire que Abyl, ou un mot approchant, sert a designer un personnage qui jadis regna sur le pays et le pays et lui donna son nom.—Fragments, p. 192.

¹⁷ Gildemeister, de rebus Indicis, pp. 177 aad 178.

¹⁸ Farhang-i Ibrahimshahi.

Ancient History of Persia, which, however, includes some other names given only by the Arab geographers.

With respect to its locality, we read of Chach's going to it on his way from the Indus to Makran, and his finding there a governor on the part of the late ruler of Sind; and we also read of Muhammad Kasim capturing it on his way from Kakran to Debal. Istakhri and Ibn Haukal speak of it as being in the province of Kakran, and six days' journey from Kiz, our modern Kedge. The other Arab geographers, as usual, follow these authorities.

Combining all these several names and statements together, I am disposed to consider that Arma-bel is the ancient and correct reading; and that its name is partly preserved in, while its position corresponds with, the modern Bela, the capital of the province of Las. It is placed on a considerable eminence—a strong and rocky site on the northern bank of the Purali (the Arabis of the ancients); and, though it is now partly surrounded by a sorry mud wall, and contains only about 300 houses, there are old Muhammadan sepulchres and other vestiges of antiquity in its neighbourhood, especially about five miles to the westward, which seem to indicate its greater importance at some former period. Coins, trinkets, and funereal jars are occasionally found there; and in the nearest point of the contiguous hills, separating the province of Las from the old town of Jhow, numerous caves and rock-temples exist, ascribed by tradition to Farhad and the fairies, but which have been considered by an observant traveller to be the earthly resting abodes of the former chiefs, or governors, of the province.¹⁹

What adds much to the probability of this identification is, that Bela is mentioned in the native histories, not simply as Bela, but as Kara-Bela; showing that it has been usual to prefix another name, which is now dropped in ordinary converse.

Askalanda—Uchh—Alexandria

The Askalanda, Asal-kanda, and Askalandra of the *Chach-*

¹⁹ *Masson's Journey to Kalat*, p. 305; see also his *Travels in Balochistan*, etc. Vol. II, p. 23.

nama is the same as the Askaland and 'Askaland-Usa of the *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh*, and the Askandra and Askanda of the *Tuhkatu-l Kiram*. The close correspondence of name, especially in the last instance, induces us at once to recognise it as identical with the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus; but a little examination will show this resemblance to be more specious than real.²⁰

The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided in four Satrapies, of which the third comprised the fort of Askalanda and Maibar,²¹ "which are also called Talwara and Chachpur." It is evident, from the description of the other Satrapies, that this one contained the whole tract north-east of Alor, and south-east of the Panjnad and Ghara; almost precisely the same, in short, as the present Daudputra country. Now Maibar and Chachpur still exist, under the modernised names of Mirbar and Chachar, close together at the very junction of the Acesines and Indus, on the eastern side of the river, opposite to Mittankot; and in them, therefore, we should have to look for Alexandria, if, which is not probable, it was on the left bank of the Indus. Consequently, Askalanda must have been higher up the river, as subsequent passages will show.

In the time of Chach, the governor of Pabiya "south of the river Bias," fled to Askalanda, which, therefore, was not likely to have been far from, or across, that river. Again, some years after, we find Muhammad Kasim breaking up his camp at Pabiya,²² "on the southern bank of the Bias," to go to Askalanda. It is not expressly mentioned that he crossed that river, and we may presume, therefore, that he did not. Nowhere else do we find any indication of its position; but, as will be seen in the note

²⁰ That Askaland also is a corruption of Alexandria, seems probable, from the peculiar position in Balkh and Tukharistan assigned to the Askalkand, Sikilkand, and Saklakand of the Arabian geographers.—*Abu-l Fida*, Geog., p. 473.—*Juynboll*, *Marasidu-l Ittila*, Vol. II. p. 40.

²¹ "Maibar" is the reading of Sir H. Elliot's MS. in this passage, but "Pabiya" is the more general spelling.

²² The text has "Yabiba," but Pabiya must be meant.

upon the Meds, it was the capital when Jayadratha and Dassal ruled in Sind.

Its proximity to the Bias and its name of Askaland-*Usa*²³ lead us to regard it as the Uchh of more modern times. That place bears marks of the most undoubted antiquity, and the absence of all mention of it in the *Chach-nama* where we are, both in the time of Chach and Muhammad Kasim, introduced to many transactions in its neighbourhood, can only be accounted for on the supposition that it is disguised under some other appellation.

It has been supposed, indeed, that the name of the Oxydracæ is derived from this old town of Uchh, but their position, according to Strabo and Arrian, appears rather to have been on the western side of the Acesines; and it is a curious coincidence that, in that direction also, there is another ancient Uchh, now in ruins, near the junction of the Hydaspes with that river, which offers a far more probable identification, and allows us, moreover, to assign to the Ossadii, instead of the Oxydracæ, the Uchh, or Askaland-Usa, near the junction of the Hyphasis with the Acesines. The name of the Oxydracæ assumes various forms in different authors.—*Hydracæ* in Strabo, *Syracousæ* in Diodorus, *Scydroi*, *Scothroi*, and *Scythroi* in Dionysius, *Sydraci* in Pliny, *Sygambri* in Justin, and *Oxydracæ* in Strabo, Arrian, Curtius, Stephanus, and others; but in no author are they confounded with the *Ossadii*, which constituted a separate tribe, acting entirely independent of the *Oxydracæ*.

It is certain that neither the upper nor lower Alexandria was built near the present Uchh. So cursorily, indeed, does Arrian notice the confluence near that spot, that Major Rennell and Dr. Vincent carry the Hyphasis direct into the Indus, without bringing it first into the Acesines. Nevertheless, although Alexander may himself have raised no city there, we might still be disposed to admit that the celebrity of his power and conquests may have given rise to the name of Askaland, or Askandra, did we not reflect that, if we are to put any trust in the chronology of the *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh*, the name must

²³ It is very doubtful if Usa is really part of the name.

have preceded the invasion of the Grecian conqueror, and cannot therefore, independent of the other reasons above mentioned, be connected with it.²⁴

Baniya

This name occurs in the list of the cities of Sind as given by Istakhri, and the *Ashkalu-l Bilad* of Ibn Haukal, but no description is given of the place. Idrisi says that it is a small but pleasant place, about three days' journey from Mansura on the road to Mamhal, and so it is laid down in the maps of Istakhri and the *Ashkalu-l Bilad*. It is not mentioned by Abu-l Fida, nor in the *Marasidu-l Ittila'*. The *Bhati* mentioned by Biruni elsewhere, and the *Batiya* in the *Chach-nama*, are probably variant spellings of the same name.

Bhambur—Barbarike

Bhambura, or Bhambur, is not named in our oldest works on Sind; but it is mentioned in a modern native historian as having been captured during the Khalifat of Harunu-r Rashid. It is the scene of many legendary stories of Sind; and, according to one of them, owes its destruction in a single night to the divine wrath which its ruler's sins drew down upon it. Its ruins skirt the water's edge for about a quarter of a mile, and cover a low hill almost surrounded by a plain of sand, a little to the right of the road from Karachi to Ghara, and about two miles from the latter place. There are evident marks of its having been at one time flourishing and populous; and even now, after heavy rains, coins, ornaments, and broken vessels are found among the debris of the fort.

Coupling these manifest signs of antiquity, with the fact that the natives commonly considered Bhambur as

²⁴ *Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. xvii. 102; Arrian, Anab. vi. 14, 15; Strabo, Geog., xv. Tauchnitz, III. 252, 273; Q. Curtius, De gest. Al., ix. 16, 31. Fragments Arabes et Persans, pp. 27, 47; Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS. pp. 16, 17; Journ. R. As. Soc., Vol. I. p. 31; Vincent, Voyage of Nearchus, pp. 133-135; Droysen, Geschichte Alex., p. 446; Ritter, Asien, Vol. IV. pt. 1, p. 471; Mannert, Geog. der Griechen und Römer, Vol. V. Lassen, Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl., Vol. III. p. 199, and Ind. Alterth., Vol. I. Muller, Fragmenta Hist. Græc., Vol. II. p. 415; Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Fragmenta, p. 33.*

the oldest port in Sind, and that the legend at page 32, proves its connection with the main stream of the Indus, it may possibly represent the Barbarik Emporium of the *Periplus*, and the Barbari of Ptolemy; the easy conversion from the native Bhambur into the more familiar Barbari being a highly probable result of the wanton mispronunciation to which the Greeks were so much addicted. But opposed to this is the statement of Arrian, that Barbarike was on the centre stream of the Delta, which would make Lahori-bandar its more likely representative. Perhaps in Arrian's time there may have been direct communication between the main channel and Bhambur.²⁵

Brahmanabad—Mansura—Mahfuza

In the time of the native dynasties which preceded the Arabs, the capital of Lower Sind was Brahmanabad.

The old name of the place, according to Biruni, was Bahmanu or Bahmanwa. The *Ashkalu-l Bilad* calls it Bamiwan, but Ibn Haukal gives the name as "Tamiran" according to Gildemeister, and "Mamiwan" according to Major Anderson. Idrisi has Mirman, but this is obviously a blunder. In the *Chach-namq*, the name is written Bain-wah, and in the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, Pain-wah. It is probably the Bhambarawah of the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*. Captain McMurdo writes it *Bahmana*, and Briggs "Bamunwasy."²⁶

Under its immediate government were included Nirun, Debal, the country of the Lohanas, the Lakhas, and the Sammas, and the whole southern coast. Its position, therefore, was one of great importance, and as its ruin is comparatively modern, it is surprising that so much doubt should exist with respect to its locality.

Various positions have been assigned to Brahmanabad. The *Ayn-i Akbari* says the fort had 1400 bastions, and

²⁵ *Arrian*, *Periplus maris Eryth.*, pp. 22, 24; *Ptolemy*, *Geogr. lib. vii. c.*; *Capt. McMurdo*, *Journ. R. A. S.*, Vol. I. p. 25; *Lt. Burton*, *Sindh*, p. 389; *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, MS. pp. 19, 166, 234.

²⁶ [Ante see elsewhere. *Biruni's Kanun*, quoted by Thomas in *Prinsep*, Vol. II. p. 120; *Reinaud*, *Fragments*, pp. 41, 113; *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 61; *Journ. R. A. S. I.* 27; *Firishta*, iv. 405; *Gildemeister*, *de rebus Ind.* 164; *J. A. S. Beng.* xxi. p. 50.]

that "to this day there are considerable vestiges of this fortification;"²⁷ but it is not said in what direction, or on which side of the river, it lay; but the mention of the bastions would seem to point out that Kalakot was probably indicated. In a passage in the *Beg-Lar-nama*, mention is made of "a place called Matahila, near the fortress of Brahmanabad, twenty *kos* distant from Nasr-pur" (MS. p. 80). Dr. Vincent says it was within four miles of Thatta, and corresponded with Pattala,²⁸ concurring in this with D'Anville and Rennell.

Capt. McMurdo fixes it on the Puran, afterwards called Lohana Darya, but it is not quite plain what he means by the Lohana Darya.²⁹ He, at any rate, altogether repudiates Thatta and Kalakot, and we must look for his Brahmanabad near Nasrpur. "It was situated on the Lohana Darya, at a short distance from where it separates from the Puran." Again, "On or near the Puran river, in what was subsequently called the Shahdadpur Pergana. Bahmana was afterwards called Dibal Kangara."³⁰ Dr. Burnes fixes it at Kalakot,³¹ and so does Sir A. Burnes.³² Capt. Postans says Bhambura, mentioning at the same time native tradition in favour of Khudabad, a little above Haidarabad.³³

There seems no reason to conclude that the Brahmanabad, or Bahmanabad, of which we are treating, was founded by the Persian king, Bahman, upon his invasion of Sind. His city is expressly said to have been built in the province of Budha,³⁴ which never extended so far as the Indus. Nor is it probable that, had he built a city on the Indus, he would have done so on the eastern, rather than on the western, bank of that river. The fact is, that Bahmanabad is a mere abbreviated form of Brah-

²⁷ Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 115.

²⁸ *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 168.

²⁹ [*The Falalli river in all probability.*]

³⁰ *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 23-8, 30, 38, 232.

³¹ *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 133.

³² *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 31.—*Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 210.

³³ *Personal Observations on Sindh*, p. 161 and 163.

³⁴ See the previous volume.

manabad; and is still a very common mode of elision throughout Western India and the Dekhin, where Brahman, in common parlance, is usually converted into Bahman.

Though the *Chach-nama* does not anywhere expressly point out where Brahmanabad was situated, we are at any rate assured, from several passages, that it was on the eastern side of the Indus, and this alone is sufficient to show that the speculations which have been raised, respecting the identity of Kalakot and Thatta with that old capital, rest upon no solid foundation.

We may fairly consider, in general terms, that Brahmanabad, after being intermediately succeeded by the Arab capital Mansura, is now represented by the modern Haidarabad; and although it may not have been upon the identical spot occupied by the modern capital, it was at least within the island, or peninsula, formed by the Falaili and the main stream of the Indus, from which the former seems to have diverged in old days at a point higher than at present. Matari, indeed, would seem to be the most probable site of the city, with reference to the quotation given above from the *Beg-Lar-nama*. To fix it higher up, as at Khudabad or Hala, would take it too far from Mansura, which we have next to consider.

Biladuri tells us that old Brahmanabad was about two parasangs distant from Mansura, which, in the time of Muhammad Kasim, was occupied by a forest.³⁵ When we consider the space which is always covered by the sites of old Indian towns, from the straggling mode of their erection, we are authorized to conclude that a large portion of Brahmanabad was included in Mansura, and that, in point of fact, the two sites are identical. The position of Haidarabad, upon a ridge of limestone hills about eighty feet high, must, from the first, have pointed out that site as a commanding one for a capital, and it has probably ever been thus occupied, by successive towns, from the first dawn of Sindian civilization. It is, indeed, on the site of Brahmanabad that D'Anville would place the

³⁵ *De Guignes, Notices et Extr., Tom. I. p. 10.—Golius ad Alfragan., p. 93.*

earlier Minagara, in which he is followed by Reinaud.³⁶

The *'Ajaibu-l Makhlukat* says that Nasrpur was built on the site of Mansura, and the same opinion is expressed by D'Anville,³⁷ and accredited by the local information of Capt. McMurdo. Tieffenthaler,³⁸ Vincent,³⁹ Rennell,⁴⁰ Tod,⁴¹ and Gildemeister,⁴² misled by the mistake of Abu-l Fazl,⁴³ fix Mansura at Bhakkar. M. Reinaud considers the testimony of Biladuri, Mas'udi, Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, and Al Biruni to bear out D'Anville entirely in his position of Nasrpur; but the mere fact that all the geographers agree in representing a branch of the Indus as flowing by Mansura, is quite sufficient to dislodge Nasrpur, which is twelve miles from the nearest point of the river.

Biladuri tells us that, after Hakim had built Mahfuza on the Indian side of the lake,—or body of water, whatever it may have been,⁴⁴—his successor 'Amru built Mansura on this (the western) side, and established it as the capital. M. Reinaud says, "Mahfuza was built in the neighbourhood of the capital (Brahmanabad), on the other side of a lake fed by the waters of the Indus." I do not find on what authority this is stated. Mansura was, indeed, two parasangs from Brahmanabad, and M. Reinaud is right in stating that these two latter names were often used the one for the other,⁴⁵—for they are so combined and converted both by Ibn Haukal and Biruni;⁴⁶ but beyond the announcement that Mahfuza was

³⁶ *Eclaircissements Geographiques*, p. 37; *Antiquite Geogr.*, p. 35.—*Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 61.

³⁷ *Anfiq. de l'Inde*.

³⁸ *Geogr. Besch. von Hindostan*, Vol. I. p. 81.

³⁹ *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 145.

⁴⁰ *Memoir*, p. 185.

⁴¹ *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. II. pp. 310, 338.

⁴² *De reb. Ind.*, p. 21.

⁴³ *Gladwin's Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 112.

⁴⁴ [Supra,] Allusion seems to be made to the Phitto, now dry, the Falaili, and other streams, which, during the inundation, leave the main stream between Hala and Haiderabad.

⁴⁵ Mas'udi ascribes Mansura to Mansur, son of Jamhur; Al Biruni, to Muhammad Kasim; but Biladuri is the best authority, and he ascribes it to 'Amru, the son of Md. Kasim.—*Memoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 193, 298.

⁴⁶ [Supra:—*De reb. Ind.*, pp. 18, 19, 164] See also Golius ad Alfragan., ex Hamza, p. 93.

his statement may be considered a sufficient corrective of the other geographers.

It may be proper to add, that none of these ancient places, mentioned in this and other Notes, have sites assigned to them in any modern maps. Burnes, Wicland, Vivien de St. Martin, Berghaus, Zimmermann, all reject them. D'Avezac enters some, but all erroneously, except Debal,—at least, according to the principles above enunciated. Even Kieport, in his valuable *Karte von Alt-Indien*, Berlin 1853, drawn up for the illustration of Professor Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, enters only Brahmanabad; and that he places on the right bank of the presumed ancient course of the Sindhu, which he has laid down as flowing far to the eastward of the present Indus. As he has admitted other names more modern than these, he should not have ignored them all.

Since the death of Sir H. Elliot the remains of a buried city, supposed to be the ancient Brahmanabad, have been discovered and explored by Mr. A. R. Bellasis, of the Bombay Civil Service. The exact position of the ruins is stated to be forty-seven miles north-east of Haidarabad, and if their investigator is right in believing them to be the ruins of Brahmanabad, the question of the position of that city is put at rest. The identification has presumption in its favour, though it has not yet been satisfactorily proved; and one circumstance is strongly against it:—Large numbers of coins were discovered among the ruins; but the great bulk of these were Muhammadan, and the few Hindu coins that were brought to light “seem to be casual contributions from other provinces, of no very marked uniformity or striking age.” Were the ruins those of an old Hindu city, Hindu coins of a distinct character would probably have been found. The coins discovered were those of Mansur bin Jamhur, Abdu-r Rahman, Muhammad 'Abdu-llah and Umar (see *supra*).⁵⁰

Debal.—*Karachi.*—*Thatta.*—*Lahori Bandar*

It is strange that the site of a port once so noted as Debal should now be left to vague conjecture; but amongst the

⁵⁰ [Illustrated London News, Feb. 21, 28, 1857.—Thomas' Prinsep, II. 119.]

fluctuating channels of the Sindian Delta we must rest content with mere surmises.

Some of the various opinions entertained upon the question of its locality may be here noticed. Native authorities seem decidedly in favour of considering Thatta to represent Debal, following generally the text of Firishta.⁵¹ Mir Ma'sum ignorantly observes that Debal is Thatta and Lahori Bandar.⁵² Abu-l Fazl is equally inexact, or rather more so.⁵³ Idrisi (*supra*) and the Arabian geographers having determined that Debal was six stations from the mouth of the Indus, Thatta was necessarily the only site which could be selected.

Modern authors have also for the most part inclined to Thatta, including De la Rochette and Rennell. Capt. McMurdo, while he says that Thatta is still known to the Arabs by the name of Debal alone, shows that the latter must have been a seaport.⁵⁴ Sir A. Burnes says, also, that Thatta is called by the Arabs Dewal Sindy,⁵⁵ and himself assigns Kalankot as its position.⁵⁶ Lieut. Burton says, we are certain that the modern Thatta occupies the ground of the ancient Dewal, as the Arabs and Persians know it by no other name,—Shal-i Debal still being used to mean a shawl of Thatta manufacture.⁵⁷

D'Anville more correctly establishes it on one of the mouths of the Indus;⁵⁸ and some others, resigning Thatta, having assigned other localities to Debal. M. Reinaud inclines to the neighbourhood of Karachi;⁵⁹ and so does Elphinstone.⁶⁰ Dr. Burnes says it occupied a site between Karachi and Thatta, in which he follows Mr. Nathaniel Crow,⁶¹ one of the first of our modern enquirers in Sind,

⁵¹ Briggs, *History, etc.*, Vol. IV. p. 404.

⁵² Tarikh-i Sind, MS pp. 2, 8.

⁵³ Ayeen Akberee, Vol. II. p. 115.

⁵⁴ Journ. R. A. Soc., Vol. I. pp. 29, 234.

⁵⁵ Travels into Bokhara, Vol. II. p. 31.

⁵⁶ Cabool, p. 17.

⁵⁷ Sindh, p. 380.—Unhappy Valley, Vol. I. p. 128.

⁵⁸ Antiq. de l' Inde, p. 34.

⁵⁹ Memoire sur l' Inde, p. 170.

⁶⁰ "Dewal was probably somewhere near Karachi."—History of India, Vol. I. p. 507.

⁶¹ Visit to the Court of Sinde, p. 133 and 162.

who combined much discrimination with ample opportunities of local knowledge.

But there can be no question that Debal was on, or close to, the sea-coast; with which the distant inland position of Thatta is by no means correspondent. For my own part I entertain little doubt that Karachi itself represents the site of Debal. The very name of Debal, or rather Dewal, "the temple," was doubtless acquired from the conspicuous position which that object must have occupied from the sea; where it was calculated to attract the gaze and reverence of the passing mariner, like its fellow shrines of Dwaraka and Somnat; and as there is no other so eligible and commanding a spot along the whole coast of Sind, from Cape Monze to Kotesar, it is highly probable that the promontory on which fort Manora now stands is the identical site occupied by the celebrated temple which gave name to the port of Debal,⁶² and which, as being the Palladium of its security, was the chief object of attack to the catapults which had been brought round by the sea to effect its destruction.⁶³

The following may be mentioned amongst the reasons why Debal cannot possibly have been Thatta, and which incline us to view Karachi with favour:—

The Sarandip vessels were, in their distress, driven to "the shore of Debal" (see elsewhere).⁶⁴ It could not, therefore, have been an inland town like Thatta, fifty miles from the nearest point of the sea, and one hundred miles by any of the tortuous channels of the Delta.

The pirates who attacked them were "dwellers at Debal, of the tribe which they call Tangamara." Now, these Tangamaras we know to have occupied the sea-coast from Karachi to Lahori Bandar, and to be the popular heroes

⁶² *The budd, or temple, was contiguous to the town of Debal, not within it, (see elsewhere).*

⁶³ *It is worthy of remark that Manora is the name of one of the celebrated Buddhist patriarchs. Abel-Remusat writes it "Manura." M. Stanislas Julien "Manorata;" [or Sanskrit Manoratha.]—Melanges Asiatiques, Tom. I. p. 115.—Indische Alterthum-skunde, Vol. II. Beil. ii. 2.*

⁶⁴ *Chach-nama, MS. p. 83.*

of several local tales—especially their Rana 'Ubaid, who lived even as late as the year 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.).⁶⁵

Biladuri also speaks of "the Ray of Debal" and of the ships which had been despatched from the Persian Gulf, arriving at Debal with soldiers and mangonels. Elphinstone considers this latter fact as decisive against Thatta;⁶⁶ but too much may be built on this argument, for, subsequently, we find these same mangonels carried by water even to Nairun.

Ibn Haukal says, Debal is a "large port on the shore of the sea, the emporium of this and the neighbouring regions. It lies to the west of the Mihran,⁶⁷ and has no large trees or date-palms". It is indeed a place of great sterility, and only occupied on account of its trade. Nothing can be more decisive against the fertile Thatta, and in favour of the barren Karachi.

Again, from Debal to Mansura is six stages, which, on the supposition that the latter, as elsewhere shown, is Haidarabad, would not suit Thatta in any respect, but exactly suits Karachi.

The *Marasidu-l Ittila* says Debal [or Daibul, as it writes the name in Arabic fashion] is a celebrated city "on the shore of the sea of Hind, an emporium where the rivers of Lahore and Multan discharge themselves into the salt sea"⁶⁸

Further quotations need not be added to show that Debal was on the sea-coast, and could not have been so far inland as Thatta, or even Lahori Bandar, which, however, is the next most probable site after Karachi.

Lahori Bandar, or Lari Bandar, succeeded Debal as the sea-port of the Indus, and is first named by Biruni; but Debal had evidently maintained its position down to the time of Jalalu-d din's incursion into Sind, in 1221 A.D. It will appear, afterwards, from the extracts taken from the *Jahan-kushai*, that the Sultan conducted himself with

⁶⁵ Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS. p. 134.

⁶⁶ History of India, Vol. I. p. 507.

⁶⁷ Gildemeister reads "east," but the Ashkalu-l Bilad and Istakhri must be correct in giving "west."—De rebus Indicis, pp. 170, 178, 179.—See Memoire sur l' Inde, p. 170.

⁶⁸ Juynboll, *Lexicon Geographicum*, Vol. I. p. 421.

the greatest severity towards the people of that port, for he plundered the country, and as he erected a mosque opposite to a Hindu temple, during his short stay there, it is evident that the place was considered then to be of sufficient consequence to be insulted in the wantonness of his fanaticism.

In Ibn Batuta's time, about a century latter (1333 A.D.), we have no mention of Debal, which seems then to have been superseded entirely by Lahori Bandar.

Lahori has itself been taken to be Debal. The *Tuhfatu-l kiram*, indeed, distinctly asserts that "what is now Bandar Lahori, was in former times called Bandar Debal:"—but its authority is not to be rated high in such matters,⁶⁹ and while, confessedly, there are some points slightly in favour of its being Debal, there are others which are decisive against it. It is itself fifteen miles from the shore of the sea; it has no bay: and a passage in Biruni is very conclusive:—where, after saying that the gulf of Turan (the present bay of Sunmiani) lies between Tiz and Debal, he adds, that beyond the gulf of Turan are the small and great months (of the Indus), the one near the town of Loharani, the other to the east, on the borders of Kachh. The country (between them) bears the name of Sind Sagara, or the sea of Sind.⁷⁰ Loharani (Lahori) is here mentioned as quite distinct from Debal, and was then evidently only just rising into importance.

Ibn Batuta calls the place "Lahiriya" or "Lahari"⁷¹—but it generally goes now by the name of Lahori, probably from its presumed connection with Lahore. Its ruin and abandonment have now given a greater prominence to the port of Dharaja, which lies a little to the east of Lahori.

The original name was most likely Lari, being so called after Lar, the local name of the southern portion of the province of Sind.

The name of Lar had once a very great extension on

⁶⁹ T. Kiram, *MS.* p. 234. This may mean merely "the port connected with Debal," because at p. 1 we read, "Debal is now called Thatta."

⁷⁰ *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 113, 119.

⁷¹ *Kosegarten*, de Mohammede ebn Batuta, p. 17. *Defremery*, Paris, 1855.

these southern coasts,—for Ptolemy and the *Periplus* both mention Guzera under the name of Larice;⁷² and Biruni and Abu-l Fida place Somnat, and even Tana, in or on the borders of the province of Lar (*supra*).⁷³ The merchant Sulaiman, also, calls the gulf of Cambay and the waters which wash the Malabar coast “the seas of Lar:”⁷⁴ and Mas’udi says, that “at Saimur, Subara, Tana and other towns a language called Lariya is spoken,” so that, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Lari Bandar was the original form under which this port was first known.⁷⁵

Hala-kandi.—The Hellenes.—Pindus

The ruins of old Hala, or Hala-kandi, on the Indus, thirty miles above Haidarabad, lie to the south-east of the present site. Had its name appeared in the *Chach-nama*, we might have ascribed its foundation to the Raja Hal, mentioned elsewhere. Tod names a later prince of the Samma family as the founder.⁷⁶

It is probable that the designation of the Hala range of mountains has a similar origin, for we nowhere find them mentioned in any early work; but such a very modern attribution would scarcely satisfy a late writer, who sees in them the cradle of the great Hellenic race:—

“The land of Hellas, a name so dear to civilization and the arts, was so called from the magnificent range of heights situated in Beloochistan, styled the ‘Hela’ mountains. * * * The chiefs of this country were called ‘Helaines,’ or the ‘chiefs of the Hela.’”⁷⁷

⁷² Lassen, *Zeitchrift f. d. k. d. Morgenl. Vol. I. p. 227.*—D’Anville, *Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l’ Inde, pp. 69, 75.*—Tod, *Western India, pp. 187-9, 255.*

⁷³ *Fragments Arabes, p. 112.*—Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis, pp. 185, 188.*

⁷⁴ *Mem. sur l’ Inde, pp. 200, 298.*

⁷⁵ [The Lata-desa of Sanskrit geography, and the Larice of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, is the country about the gulf of Cambay and the mouth of the Nerbudda. The Arab geographers agree, also, upon this locality. It is very questionable if that term is susceptible of the extension which Sir H. Elliot here seeks to give it. The Lar of Sind would rather seem to be a distinct name. See McMurdo, *Jour. R. A. S. I. 224; Hwen Tsang III. 409*]

⁷⁶ *Travels in Western India, p. 474.* Halar in Guzerat is called after a Jhareja prince of the same name.

⁷⁷ E. Pococke, *India in Greece, p. 48.*—This is an unfair contortion, in order to suit the etymology: the real spelling being Hala, or, more

He gives as a motto to this fanciful chapter on the Hellenes, the following lines from the fragments of Hesiod :—

*Ellenos d' egenonto themistopoloï Basilhes.
Doros te southos te, kai Aioles ippiokharums*
Chiefs of the war-car, guards of holy Right,
Dorus and Æolus, and Zuthus' might
From HELLEN sprang.

As he conceives *Æolus* to represent the *Haiya* tribe of Rajputs, it is surprising that he disregards the more obvious resemblance of *Dorus* and *Zuthus* to the mighty *Dors* and the energetic *Zats* ;—the former now nearly extinct, the latter now better known as the wide-spread Jats.

Another mountain range in the same neighbourhood is even still more unduly exalted, in a mode which sets all true relations of time, space, position, and language, at complete defiance.

"I would now direct the reader's attention to the most salient feature in the land of Henas. The mountain chain of PINDUS, traversing a considerable portion of Greece, and forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, takes its name from the PIND. Its present name is Pind Dadun Khau * * * * whence the Pind or "Salt Range" of Afghanistan was naturally transferred to a corresponding remarkable feature in Greece. It is not a little remarkable, that in the latter country the true Pindus * * * should give nearly the corresponding length of the Pind in Afghanistan, viz., a distance of about sixty miles."⁷⁸

This elaborate super-structure is based on an utterly false assumption. The salt range is not, and never was, called the Pind. Pind is a common word in the Upper Panjab, signifying simply "a village," and recurs a hundred times over in that locality—as Pind Bhattiyan, Pind Malik Aulya, Pindi Ghaib, Rawal Pindi, etc., etc.—and so, Pind Dadan Khan merely means the "village of Dadan Khan," and one, moreover, of modern erection. The word "Pind," indeed, has only lately been introduced into the Panjab—long even after the name of the celebrated Grecian mountain was itself converted into the modern Agrapha.

correctly, Hara; so that we have, unfortunately, nothing but the simple initial aspirate to support the grand Hellenic hypothesis.—See the Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS., pp. 130, 164.

⁷⁸ India in Greece, p. 82.

The whole of this arrogant and dogmatical work is replete with similar absurdities; and yet the only notices it has received from our Reviewers are of a laudatory character. It is to be feared that no English publication of late years will go so far as this to damage our literary reputation in the eyes of continental scholars; and it is therefore to be regretted that it has not yet received the castigation due to its ignorance and presumption.⁷⁹

Jandrud

About a mile, or half a parasang, from Multan was the castle or fortified residence of the governor, which Istakhri calls Jandrud. The *Ashkalu-l Bilad*, according to Sir H. Elliot, reads Chandrawar, but the initial *ch* is at best suspicious in an Arabic work; the map has Jandrud. Gildemeister's Ibn Haukal has Jandrar, Jandar, and Jandaruz; and Idrisi says Jandur. Ibn Haukal helps us to the right reading when he says, the Jandaruz is a river, and the city of Jandaruz stands on its banks. Immediately before this he had been speaking of the river Sandaruz, which is evidently the Sind-rud, so that we may at once conclude that the final syllable is the Persian *rud* (river). Sir H. Elliot, in a subsequent passage, supposes it to derive its first syllable from the Arabic word *Jand*, a cantonment or military colony,—in which case the name would signify the “cantonment on the river.” But Hafiz Abru, in an extract which appears elsewhere, informs us that the river Chinab was called “Jamd;” the name of the place, therefore, may have been Jamdrud. Multan itself is situated about three miles from the Chinab, so that Jandrud, or Jamdrud, must have been its port on that river.

Kaikanan.—Kaikan.—Kakars

This name appears under the various aspects of Kaikanan,

⁷⁹ The author's credit stands on a false eminence, as being one of the Editors of the reprint of the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*; and we find one of his really able collaborateurs lamenting, in his preface to the *Hist. of Rom. Literature*, that “the *Early History of Rome*, promised by the author of that remarkable work, *India in Greece*, should not have been available for these pages.” [It must be remembered that these animadversions were written in 1853.]

Kikan, Kaikan, Kizkanan, Kabarkanan and Kirkayan,—the first being of most frequent occurrence. Though so often mentioned, we can form but a very general idea of its position.

The *Chach-nama* tells us that, under the Rai dynasty, the Sindian territory extended “as far to the north as the mountains of Kirdan⁸⁰ and Kaikanan, by way of Bahraj and Koh-paya,” where, after some partial successes, their progress was intercepted by the mountainer in their difficult defiles, and in the end the Arabs sustained a complete defeat. One of the objects of these expeditions to Kaikanan, which lasted for about twenty years, was to obtain horses from that province, as they are represented to have been celebrated for their strength and proportions. The tract of Budh was reached during one of these incursions, and we find one of the Arab armies returning from another incursion by way of Siwistan.⁸¹

Biladuri also mentions these expeditions, with some slight variations in the details; and is the only author who adopts the spelling of the Arabic *kaf*, and omits the last syllable,—representing the name as “Kikan,” or “Kaikan”—whereas the *Chach-nama* prefers Kaikanan. He says “it forms a portion of Sind in the direction of Khurasan,” and he speaks of “Turks” as its inhabitants. In an important expedition directed against a tract of contrary lying between Multan and Kabul, in A.H. 44, “Turks are encountered in the country of Kaikan.” In another, ‘Abd-ulla sends to Mua’wiya the “horses of Kaikan” which he had taken amongst other spoil. In another, Asad attacks the Meds, after warring against Kaikan. In the year 221 H. Biladuri speaks of a portion of Kaikan as occupied by Jats, whom ‘Amran defeated, and then established within their country the military colony of Baiza. On this occasion, the country was attached from the side of Sind, not from Makran, which will account for the mention of the “Jats,” instead of “Turks.”

⁸⁰ [This name may be read “Karwan,” and the initial may be optionally G.]

⁸¹ MS. pp. 72-78.

It may also be doubted if the Kakakanan or Kizkanan of Ibn Haukal refers to this tract,—and yet it would be more difficult to account for its total omission, if it do not. According to them, Kaikanan was in the district of Turan, and a city in which the governor of Kusdar resided. This apparent discrepancy can only be reconciled by supposing that there was both a province and town of that name. They give us no further indication of its position, except that the district of Atal is said to lie between Kaikanan and Kandabel,—which, of itself, attributes to it a much greater extension to the north, than if it were a mere portion of Turan.⁸²

The later Arab geographers follow these authorities, and add nothing further to our information.

Abu-l Fazl Baihaki mentions Kaikahan amongst the other provinces under the authority of Mas'ud, the Ghaznivide; and as Hind, Sind, Nimroz, Zabulistan, Kasdar, Makran, and Danistan are noticed separately, it shows that Kaikahan was then considered a distinct jurisdiction.⁸³

In Hwen Tsang's travels we have mention of the country of Kikan, situated to the south of Kabul, which is evidently no other than the province of which we are treating.⁸⁴

From this time forward, we lose sight of the name, and are left to conjecture where Kaikanan was. Under all the circumstances of the case, we may be justified in considering it so far to the east as to include the Sulaimani range, which had not, up to a comparatively late period, been dignified with that name. As with respect to Asia, and many other names of countries, so with respect to Kaikanan, the boundaries seem to have receded with the progress of discovery; and though, on its first mention, it does not appear to have extended beyond Shal and Mustung, yet, by the time of the Ghaznivides, we are authorised to conclude that it reached, on the east, to the frontier of Multan, and, on the south, to the hilly tract of Siwistan, above the plains of Sind.

⁸² *Gildemeister, de rebus Indicis, pp. 164, 174, 177.*

⁸³ *Tarikh-i Mas'udi, MS.*

⁸⁴ *Foe-koue-ki, p. 395; Hwen Tsang III. 185, 414.—Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 176.*

Under the present condition of Afhanistan it may be considered, in general terms, as including the whole of the country occupied by the Kakars. The expedition of A.H. 44 to the country between Multan and Kabul certainly shows that Kaikanan must have comprised the Sulaimani range to the south of the Gumal; and the celebrity of its horses would appear to point to a tract further to the west, including Saharawan and Mushki, where horses, especially those used on the plain of Mangachar, are still in great demand, and whence they are often sent for shipment to the coast.

There is no place extant which recalls the name of the old province, except it be Kahan, which was perhaps included within its south-eastern frontier. It is barely possible, also, that there may be some connection between the name of the Kakars and that of the ancient province which they occupy. It will be observed above, that Baihaki mentions a district of Danistan, and the order in which it occurs is "Kusda and Makran, and Danistan, and Kaikahan." This implies contiguity between the several places thus named, and it is, therefore, worthy of remark, that Dani is entered in all the genealogical lists of the Afghans as the eldest son of Gharghasht, the son of their great progenitor, Kais 'Abdu-r Rashid Pathan; and that Kakar, from whom the powerful tribe of that name is descended, was himself the eldest son of Dani. Names change in the course of ages, especially among people in a low stage of civilization; and it may perhaps be conceded that "Kakaran" and "Kaikahan" would, under such circumstances, be no very violent and improbable metathesis.

Kajuratha, Capital of Jajahoti

Extract of General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1964-5,—Page 68.

"The ancient city of Khajuraho, the capital of the Chandel Rajputs, is situated thirty-four miles to the south of Mahoba, twenty-seven miles to the east of Chhatrapur, and twenty-five miles to the north-west of Panna The

earliest mention of this capital is by Abu Rihan, who accompanied Mahmud in his campaign against Kalinjar in A.D. 1022. He calls at Kajuraha, the capital of Jajahoti, and places it at thirty parasangs, or about ninety miles, to the south-east of Kanauj. The true direction, however, is almost due south, and the distance about twice thirty parasangs, or one hundred and eighty miles. The next mention of Khajuraho is by Ibn Batuta, who visited it about A.D. 1335.—He calls it Kajura The earliest mention of the province is by Hwen Tsang, in A.D. 641.—He calls it *Chi-chi-to*, or Jajhoti . . . From the accounts of Hwen Tsang, and Abu Rihan, it is evident that the Province of Jajahoti corresponded with the modern district of Bundelkhand in its widest extent."

Kallari.—Annari.—and Ballari

Such seems to be the correct spelling of three names, which appear in a great variety of forms.—Istakhri has Kalwi, Annari, and Balwi, but the first takes the form of Kaladi or Kalari in his map. In the printed extract of the *Ashkalu-l Bilad* the names appear as Falid, Abri, and Balzi; also, as Abri, Labi, and Maildi, some of which divergences may be credited to bad copy and misprints. Gilde-meister's Ibn Haukal gives them as Ayara, Valara, and Balra; Idrisi has Atri and Kalari; Abu-l Fida has Kallari, Annari, and Ballari, and these agree with the names as they appear in the map of the *Ashkalu-l Bilad*. They were three neighbouring towns on the road from Alor to Mansura, Annari standing first, Kallari next, and Ballari last in Istakhri's map, and in that of the *Ashkalu-l Bilad*. The termination *ri* or *ari* would seem to be a common noun, and the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* writes it with the Hindi *re*. Idrisi says Annari is four days journey from Alor, and Kallari. Ibn Haukal places Annari and Kallari on the east of the Mihran, but Idrisi says, that it stands on the western bank; and enters into details which show pretty clearly its relative position to Mansura. There is a "Bulrey," marked in Allen's map of Sind, about thirty miles south of Haidarabad, but this position does not correspond with the above description.

Kandabel.—Turan.—Budha.—Baiza

It is essential to a right understanding of ancient Sindian geography to ascertain where Kandabel, of which there is such frequent mention, was situated. We can only do this by implication, and by comparison of the various passages in which the name occurs.

The *Chach-nama*⁸⁵ mentions it in three different passages, at least, if Kandhala in the last reference be meant, as seems probable, for that place. If we are to put faith in the first passage, there would be no need for further enquiry, as it is distinctly mentioned thus:—"Kandabel, that is, Kandahar." But it may be shown that this identification cannot possibly be admitted, for Chach reaches the place through the desert of Turan (a province of which Kusdar was the capital),⁸⁶ on his return from Arma-bel to Alor. He straitened the garrison by encamping on the river Sini, or Sibi, and compelled them to agree to the payment of one hundred horses from the hill country, and a tribute of 100,000 dirhams. Here the name of the river, and the position, put Kandahar out of the question, and we can only regard the passage as the conjecture of some transcriber, interpolated by mistake from the margin into the text.

The real fact is, that Kandabel⁸⁷ can scarcely be any other place than the modern Gandava, and we shall find, with this single exception, that all the other passages where its name occurs sufficiently indicate that as the position. Indeed, it is probable that this very instance lends confirmation to this view, for the Sini river seems to be no other than the Sibi, now called the Nari, but flowing under the town of Sibi, and, during the floods, joining the Bolan river, into which the hill-streams, which

⁸⁵ MS. pp. 48, 71, 115. [Supra.]

⁸⁶ Mordtmann, *das Buch der Lander.—Marasidu-l Ittila'*, Ed. Juynboll, Vol. II. p. 214.—Memoire sur l'Inde, pp. 176, 278.

⁸⁷ It is almost uniformly spelt in this mode, with the Arabic Kaf, the variations being very few. The final syllable is occasionally nil, bal, and yal; but bel is most probably the correct form. We find the same termination in Arma-bel, or the modern Bela. It may possibly be connected with the Mongol balu, "a city," as in Khan-balu, the city of the Khan.—See Journ. R. A. Soc., Vol. XV. p. 200.

surround and insulate Gandava, disembody themselves. The river which runs nearest to Gandava is now called the Badra.

The *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh* tells us that Kandabel was founded by the Persian king, Bahman, "between the confines of the Hindus and the Turks".⁸⁸ Biladuri frequently mentions it, and speaks of Kandahar as entirely separate and distinct. He tells us it was situated on a hill or elevated site, and that 'Amran, after taking the town, transferred the principal inhabitants to Kusdar, from which place it was situated at the distance of five parasangs.⁸⁹

According to Ibn Haukal, and the corresponding passages in Istakhri, Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, and the *Ashkalul-l Bilad*, Kandabel was the capital of Budha, and a large place of commercial traffic, deficient in the produce of the date-palm, and situated in a desert, eight stages from Mansura, and then through the desert from Multan.⁹⁰

All these descriptions make Kandabel correspond sufficiently with the modern Gandava, to leave no doubt of their identity. Later historians speak of it as being on the borders of Kirman,⁹¹ but their notions of that province were very indefinite, and any place on the eastern confines of Sind would equally answer their loose mode of delineation.

Gandava, which is the capital of the province of Kachh, is surrounded by a wall, and is still one of the most important places between Kelat and Shikarpur, though greatly declined from its former state. Indeed, Bagh is a much larger, as well as more commercial town, but the credit of antiquity cleaves to Gandava.

Kandabel, it will be observed, is represented as the capital of Budha, which, therefore, next demands our attention. This is evidently the same province as the Budhpur, Budhiya, and Budapur.

Under the Rai dynasty, the second satrapy of Sind com-

⁸⁸ Mem. sur l' Inde, p. 57.

⁸⁹ Mem. sur l' Inde, p. 176. *The distance is too short to suit Gandava, which is eighty miles north-east of Kusdar. Has not "parasangs" been entered instead of "stages?"*

⁹⁰ Gildemeister, 172, 177, 178.

⁹¹ Elmacin, *Historia Saracenica*, ann 101.

prised, besides the town of Siwistan, which was the capital,⁹² Budhpur, and Jankan (Jangar), and the skirts of the hills of Rajhan, as far as the borders of Makran." Again, "Chach marched towards the fortress of Budapur and Siwistan." After crossing the Indus "he went to Budhiya, the capital of which tract was Nanaraj Kakaraj), and the inhabitants of the place called it Sawis." . . . "After taking the fort of the Sawis, he moved towards Siwistan".

When Siwistan was attacked by Muhammad Kasim, the governor fled to Budhiya, where was "a fortress called Sisam,⁹³ on the banks of the Kumbh," whither he was pursued by the Arab general, who encamped with a portion of his army at "Nilhan on the Kumbh." Here, the chiefs of Budhiya determined to make a night attack upon his camp. These chiefs of Budhiya, who were of the same family as the ruler of Sisam, are subsequently shown to be Jats;⁹⁴ whose origin was derived from a place on the banks of the Gang, which they call Aundhar."⁹⁵ After failing in this expedition, they voluntarily surrendered themselves, as they had "found from the books of the Buddhists that Hindustan was destined to be conquered by the army of Islam," and then turned their arms vigorously against their former comrades. On Muhammad's advancing to Sisam, "some of the idolaters fled to Budhya, higher up: some to the fort of Bahitlur,⁹⁶ between Saluj and Kandhabel" and there sued for peace, and after agreeing to pay tribute, sent their hostages to Siwistan.

In the *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh* we read that Bahman, the Persian king, "built in the country of Budh a town called Bahmanabad, which according to some is Mansura".

⁹² *Siwistan on the Indus is here alluded to; but the town of Sebi, or Sibi, and the province of Siwistan, are the constant source of confusion and mistake, whenever the name occurs; insomuch, that it is sometimes difficult, as in the passages here quoted, to determine positively which place is indicated. This perplexity is not diminished by the fact of the large province of Sistan, or Sijistan, being not very remote.*

⁹³ *In the province of Sebi (Siwistan), according to the Tuhfatu-l Kiram. [It is probably "Seisan," on the Manchhar lake.]*

⁹⁴ *Or Channas, according to Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS. p. 12.*

⁹⁵ *[See Note, elsewhere.]*

⁹⁶ *Bahaltur and Bahla, in the Tuhfatu-l Kiram.*

[Biladuri mentions this tract as the scene of the slaughter of Budail, and it is, perhaps, disguised under the name of Basea elsewhere.]

In Istakhri and in Ibn Haukal, it assumes the form of Budh, or Budha. "The infidel inhabitants within the borders of Sind are called Budha and Mand. They reside in the tract between Turan, Multan, and Mansura, on the western bank of the Mihran. They live in huts made of reeds and grass". Again, "Atal is inhabited by Musulmans and infidel Budhas."⁹⁷ "From Mansura to the first borders of Budha is fifteen stages,⁹⁸ and any one who travels that road must go along the banks of the Mihran until he reaches Sadustan (Sihwan)."

"Nadha," or "Nudha," seems to be the reading preferred by Idrisi, and the Nubian geographer. Kazwini describes the country as having a population resembling the Zat, and yielding plenty of rice and cocoa-nuts. It also produces camels with double humps, which being rarely found elsewhere, were in great demand in Khurasan and Persia.⁹⁹ Ibn Haukal also remarks upon the excellence of its breed of camels. The *Marasidu-l Ittila'*¹⁰⁰ likewise approves of the initial N, instead of B; but these later authorities are of no value, when arrayed against the repeated instances to the contrary from the *Chach-nama*, and the great majority of the readings in Ibn Haukal and Istakhri.¹⁰¹

From a comparison of all these statements, it would

⁹⁷ See also Gildemeister, *de reb. Ind.*, pp. 164, 171, 172, 177.

⁹⁸ This, if the right reading, must be understood in the sense of remotest, because the capital Kandabel is declared to be only eight stages, and Turan, which is conterminous with Budh on the west, is only set down at fifteen stages. The *Askalu-l Bilad* gives the distance from Mansura to the nearest point of Budh as only five marches. This is probably the correct reading.—See *Journal A. S. B.*, 1852, No. 1, p. 73.

⁹⁹ *De reb. Indicis*, p. 216.

¹⁰⁰ *Ed. Juynboll, Vol. II.*

¹⁰¹ If *Nudha* could be supposed the correct reading, it would lend an interest to a passage in *Dionysius*, who says in his *Periegesis*—*Indon par potamon notioi Skuthai ennaiousin*. *Notioi* might be meant for "the Nodhites," instead of "southern," as usually translated: or the Arabs might have converted the "southern" into a separate class with a distinctive name.

appear that the old tract of Budh, or Budhiya, very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kachh Gandava, on all our sides except the northern, where it seems to have acquired a greater extension, of which it is impossible to define the precise limits. It is worthy of remark that, in the very centre of Kachh Gandava, there is still a place called Budha on the Nari river, and it is possible that the name is also preserved in the Kakar tract of Bori, or Bura, forming part of the Afghan province of Siwistan.¹⁰² In the *Ayin-i Akbari* the town of Budhyan is mentioned as being on the northern frontier of Sirkar Thatta, one hundred kos from Bandar Lahori.

It is impossible to assent to an hypothesis lately started in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, quoted above, that this tract was designated after the present Burohees, or Brahuis. Their name itself is too modern,—besides being belied by the usual meaning ascribed to it, of “mountaineer;”—and even their partial occupation of this low eastern tract is not yet a century old. From time immemorial it has been held by the Jats, who still constitute the majority of the population, and the Brahuis are a mere intrusive stock from the provinces of Mushki and Jhow, and the rugged highlands of Saharawan, which abut Kachh Gandava on the westward. It has been surmised, also, that these Budhiyas were the Bhodya and Bhoja of the Puranic legends, and even the Bhotyas of Tibet. This is treading upon still more dangerous ground.¹⁰³ It is far more probable that, if the name had any significant origin at all, it was derived from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote tract, at the time when Brahmanism was making its quiet but steady inroads by the more open and accessible course of the river Indus.

Kannazbur

Omission and misplacing of the dots have caused this

¹⁰² In the passage quoted above from the *Mujmalu-l Tawarikh*, Bahman is said to have founded a city called Bahmanabad in the country of Budh. There is a place entered as Brahiman in Burnes' map, between Shal and Bori.

¹⁰³ V. de Saint-Martin, *Etudes de Geog. ancienne*, Tom. 1. pp. 328-334.—Lassen *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. 1. pp. 559, 611, 727.

name to assume a very varying form in Roman characters. Ibn Khurdabha calls it "Kinnazbun," and Istakhri's version may be so read. The *Ashkalu-l Bilad* has "Kabryun;" Gildemeister's version of Ibn Haukal makes it "Kannazbur;" Idrisi writes "Firabuz," but "Kirbuz" sometimes occurs. The *Marasidu-l Ittilia'* has "Kirbun," but Juynboll, the editor, says this is a false reading for Kannazbur. Biladuri agrees in this last spelling, and the *Chach-nama* has "Kannazpur," and "Kinarbur." The position of the place appears to correspond with that of the modern Punjgoor in Makran.

Mandal.—Kiraḡ

It is difficult to fix the position of Mandal, one of the places to which Junaid despatched an expedition.

The name of Mandal, or Mandalam, being applied generally to signify "a region," in Sanskrit, adds to our doubts upon this occasion. Thus we have Tonda-Mandalam, Pandu-Mandalam, Chola-Mandalam, and many others. [Almost, or entirely, all of them being situated in the South.] The most noted Mandal of the Arab geographers was that whence Mandali aloë-wood was derived; hence *agallochum* was frequently called "Mandal;" but no one seems to have known where it was situated. Kazwini says no one can penetrate to it, because it lies beyond the equinoctial line: but he calls it a city of India, taking that word in its enlarged sense of East Indies. [The *Marasidu-l Ittila'* calls it a city of Hind, but gives no indication of its locality. Abu-l Fida has no notice of it.] Avicenna, in his *Kanun*, says that, according to some, it is in the middle of the land of Hind. The place here alluded to, is probably the coast of Coromandel, whence the *agallochum*, brought from the eastern islands, was distributed to the marts and countries of the west.

Avicenna's description might be made to apply to Mandala upon the Nerbadda, which in the second century of our era was the seat of the Haihaya dynasty of Gondwana;¹⁰⁴ but this is, of course, too far for any Arab expe-

¹⁰⁴ Langlois, *Harivansa*, Vol. I. p. 6.—As. Res., Vol. IX. pp. 100,

dition, notwithstanding that M. Reinaud considers Ujjain and Malwa¹⁰⁵ to have been attacked at the same period, under the orders of Junaid. But Malabar would have been a more probable object of attack than Malwa, in the heart of India. As we proceed, we shall find other expeditions almost all directed to different points in the Guzerat peninsula,—as, indeed, was the case, even from the time of the conquest of Sind, when the inhabitants of Basra were engaged in a warfare with the Meds of Surashtra.

It is evident that we must seek, also, no very distant site for Mandal. Even Mandal-eswara (Mandlaisar), on the Nerbadda, would be too remote. Mandor in Rajputana, the ancient capital of the Parihars or Mandra in Kachh, or Mandal in Jhalawar, would be better, or the famous Mandavi, had not its ancient site been known by another name,—Raen. Altogether, Mandal in Guzerat, better known as Oka-Mandal, offers, from its antiquity and its position as the western district of that peninsula, the most probable site for the Mandal of Junaid.

From the expression of the historian Tabari, that the Arabs never recovered possession of Kiraj and Mandal, there would seem to be an implication that these places lay beyond the province of Sind, and that they were at no great distance from one another. They are also mentioned together in the passage under consideration. The “Kiraj” of Tabari and the *Futuhu-l Buldan* seems to be the same place as the “Kaj” of Biruni. The name occurs again as “Kiraj” and “Kuraj” in the *Chach-nama*, and was probably situate in, if not named from, Kachh, though the exact site of the town cannot now be established.

The position of Oka-Mandal on the opposite coast is a sufficient reason why it should be mentioned in connec-

105, 112.—J. A. S. Bengal, *August*, 1837.—J. A. S. Bombay, *Vol. IV.* p. 179.—Mod. Traveller, “*India*,” *Vol. I.* p. 141.—Schlegel’s *Ramayana*, *Vol. I. pt. ii. p.* 208.—As. Ann. Reg., *Vol. VIII. Misc. Tracts*, p. 19.—Baudry, *Encyel. Moderne*, *Tom. XVIII. col.* 151.—Lassen, *Ind. Altherth.*, *Vol. I. Beil. IV.* 4.

¹⁰⁵ [These two names were left blank in his “*Fragments*,” but were restored in the *Memoire sur l’ Inde*, p. 192. In Goejes’ most careful edition of the text of *Biladuri* the names are distinctly written “Uzain” and “Malabat.”]

tion with Kiraj, supposing that place to have been in Kachh; and, in the absence of more certain information, I should, for this, as well as the other reasons above given, feel disposed to consider it as the Mandal noticed by the Arab historians of the Sindian conquest.¹⁰⁶

Manjabari

Such appears to be the preferable mode of spelling the name which appears in Istakhri as Manhanari, in Ibn Haukal as Manhatarā, and in Idrisi as Manabari. It is described as being on the west of the river, three days' journey south from Sadhusan (Sihwan), and two days short of Debal,—the two maps agree with this account. The route from Mansura to Debal crosses the river at this place. It has been supposed to be the Minnagara of the ancients.—See the next article "Minnagara."]

Minnagara

Vincent thinks that the Minnagara of Ptolemy, and the Periplus usually ascribed to Arrian, is the Manjabari of the Arab geographers. D'Anville supposes Minnagara to be the same as Mansura. C. Ritter says it is Tatta, so does Alex. Burnes, because Tatta is now called Sa-Minagur, and Mannert says, Binagara should be read for Minnagara. These high authorities place it on the Indus. But although goods were landed at Barbarie, the port of the Indus, and conveyed to Minnagara "by the river," there is no reason why Minnagara should have been on that river.

The Periplus merely says, "Minnagara is inland." *mesogeios e metropolis autus Tus Skuthias Minnagar*. Again, the Periplus says, the "Metropolis of the whole country, is Minnagara, whence great quantities of cotton goods are carried down to Barygaza," or broach, which could scarcely have been the place of export, if Minnagara had been on the Indus. But even allowing it to have been on the Indus, there is every reason to suppose it was on the

¹⁰⁶ *Gildemeister*, Script Arab. de rebus Indicis, pp. 69, 71, 214.—*Tod*, Rajasthan, Vol. I. pp. 39, 100, 725.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer*, 4to. Vol. I. pp. 651, 656, 661.—*Hudson*, Geog. Vet. Script. Min., Vol. I. —Periplus, p. 23.

eastern bank, whereas Manjabari is plainly stated to be on the western.

Lassen derives the name of this capital of Indo-Scythia from the Sanskrit *Nagara*, a town, and *Min*, which he shows from Isidorus Characenus to be the name of a Scythian city. The Sindomana of Arrian may, therefore, owe its origin to this source. C. Ritter says *Min* is a name of the Sacas; if so, there can be little doubt that we have their representatives in the wild Minas of Rajputana, who have been driven but little to the eastward of their former haunts.

Minnagara is, according to Ptolemy, in Long. 115. 15. Lat. 19. 30, and he places it on the Nerbadda, so that his Minnagara, as well as that of the second quotation from the Periplus, may possibly be the famous Mandugarh (not far from the river), and the Mankir which the early Arab Geographers represent as the capital of the Balhara. [See the article "Balhara."]

The fact appears to be that there were two Minnagars—one on, or near, the Indus; another on the Nerbadda (Narmada). Ptolemy's assertion cannot be gainsaid, and establishes the existence of the latter on the Nerbadda, [and this must have been the Minnagara of which the Periplus represents Broach to be the port]. The one on, or near, the Indus was the capital of Indo-Scythia, and the Binagara, or Agrinagara of Ptolemy. We learn from the Tuhfatu-l Kiram that in the twelfth century Minagar was one of the cities dependent on Multan, and was in the possession of a chief, by caste an *Agri*, descended from Alexander. When we remember that Arrian informs us that Alexander left some of his troops, (including, no doubt, Agrians), as a garrison for the town at the junction of the Indus and Acesines, this affords a highly curious coincidence, which cannot, however, be further dilated upon in this place.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Compare Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. part 1, p. 475, and Vol. V. p. 181. Ptol. Geogr. Lib. VII. c. I, tab. 10. Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 349. D'Anville *Antiq. de l' Inde*, p. 34. Mannert, *Geog. der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V. pp. 107, 130, 136. Hudson, *Geog. Vet. Scriptores Græci Min.* Vol. I. Burnes *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 79. Journal R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 31.

NARANA

[*Extract of General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1864-5,—Page 1.*]

"In his account of the geography of Northern India, the celebrated Abu Rihan makes the city of *Narain* the starting point of three different itineraries to the south, the south-west, and the west. This place has not been identified by M. Rainaud, the learned historian of ancient India, but its true locality has been accurately assigned to the neighbourhood of Jaypur. Its position also puzzled Sir H. Elliot, who says, however, that with one exception "*Narwar* satisfies all the requisite conditions." But this position is quite untenable, as will be seen by the proofs which I am now about to bring forward in support of its identification with *Narayan*, the capital of *Bairat*, or *Matsya*.

According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Tsang, the capital of the kingdom of *Po-li-ye-to-la*, which M. Reinaud has identified with *Paryatra*, or *Bairat*, was situated at 500 *li*, or $83\frac{2}{3}$ miles, to the west of Mathura, and about 800 *li*, or $133\frac{2}{3}$ miles, to the south-west (read south-east) of the kingdom of *She-to-tu-lo*, that is, of *Satadru*, on the Sutlej—The bearing and distance from Mathura point unequivocally to *Bairat*, the ancient capital of *Matsya*, as the city of Hwen Tsang's narrative; and this being fixed, we may identify the capital of *Satadru*, or the Sutlej Provinces, with the famous Fort of *Hansi*, which successfully resisted the arms of Mahmud of Ghazni. According to the *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, *Hansi*, was the ancient capital of the Province of Siwalik, and up to the time of its capture by Mas'ud had been considered by the Hindus as impregnable.

Abu Rihan, the contemporary of Mahmud, places *Narana*, the capital of Karzat, at twenty-eight parasangs to the west of Mathura, which, taking the parasang at three and a half miles, would make the distance ninety-

C. Lassen, *De Pentapotamia Ind.* p. 57. *Allgemeine Encyclop.: Art. Indien*, p. 91. *Arriani, De Expedit: Alex: Lib. VI.* 15.

eight miles, or fourteen miles in excess of the measurement of Hwen Tsang. But as the narratives of the different Muhammadan historians leave no doubt of the identity of *Narana*, the capital of *Karzat*, with *Narayana*, the capital of *Bairat*, this difference in the recorded distance from Mathura is of little moment. According to Abu Rihan, *Narana*, or *Bazana*,¹⁰⁸ was called *Narayan*.... ..by the Musulmans, a name which still exists in *Narayanpur*, a town situated at ten miles to the north-east of *Bairat* itself. From Kanauj to *Narana*, Abu Rihan gives two distinct routes:—the first direct, *via* Mathura, being fifty-six parasangs, or 196 miles, and the other to the south of the *Jumna* being eighty-eight parasangs, or 308 miles. The intermediate stages of the latter route are, 1st., *Asi*, 18 parasangs, or 63 miles; 2nd., *Sahina*, 17 parasangs or 59½ miles; 3rd., *Jandara* (*Chandra*), 18 parasangs, or 63 miles; 4th., *Rajauri*, either 15 or 17 parasangs, 54 or 59½ miles; and 5th., *Bazana*, or *Narana*, 20 parasangs, or 70 miles. As the direction of the first stage is especially recorded to have been to the south-west of Kanauj, it may be at once identified with the *Assai Ghat* on the *Jumna*, six miles to the south of *Etawa*, and about sixty miles to the south-west of Kanauj. The name of the second stage is written *Sahina*, for which, by the simple shifting of the diacritical points, I propose to read *Sahania*, which is the name of a very large and famous ruined town, situated twenty-five miles to the north of *Gwalior*, of which some account will be given in the present report. Its distance from the *Assai Ghat* is about fifty-six miles. The third stage named *Jandara* by M. Reinaud, and *Chandra* by Sir Henry Elliot, I take to be *Hindon*, reading *Hindun* for *Chandra*. Its distance from *Sahaniya* by the *Khetri Ghat* on the *Chambal* river is about seventy miles. The fourth stage, named *Rajori*, still exists under the same name, twelve miles to the south of *Macheri*, and about fifty miles to the north-west of *Hindon*. From thence to *Narainpur* and *Bairat*, the road lies together through the hills of *Alwar* or *Macheri*, which makes it difficult to ascertain the exact distance. By measurements on the lithographed

¹⁰⁸ [Reinaud's reading.]

map of eight miles to the inch, I make the distance to be about sixty miles, which is sufficiently near the twenty parasangs, or seventy miles, of Abu Rihan's account.

According to the other itineraries of Abu Rihan, *Narana* was twenty-five parasangs to the north of *Chitor* in *Me-war*, fifty parasangs to the east of *Multan*, and sixty parasangs to the north-east of *Anhalwara*. The bearings of these places from *Bairat* are all sufficiently exact, but the measurements are more than one-half too short. For the first distance of twenty-five parasangs to *Chitor*, I would propose to read sixty-five parasangs, or 227 miles, the actual distance by the measured routes of the Quarter-Master General being $217 \frac{3}{4}$. As the distance of *Chitor* is omitted in the extract from Abu Rihan, which is given by Rashidu-d Din,¹⁰⁹ it is probable that there may have been some omission or confusion in the origin of the *Tarikh-i Hind* from which he copied. The erroneous measurement of fifty parasangs to *Multan* is, perhaps, excusable on the ground that the direct route through the desert being impassable for an army, the distance must have been estimated. The error in the distance of *Anhalwara* I would explain by referring the measurement of sixty parasangs to *Chitor*, which lies about midway between *Bairat* and *Anhalwara*. From a comparison of all these different itineraries, I have no hesitation whatever in identifying *Bazana* or *Narana*, the capital of *Karzat* or *Guzrat*,¹¹⁰ with *Narayanpur*, the capital of *Bairat* or *Vairat*. In *Firishta* the name is written either *Kibrat*, as in *Dow*, or *Kairat*, as in *Briggs*, both of which names are an easy misreading of *Wairat* or *Virat*, as it would have been written by the Muhammadans.

According to Abu Rihan the town was destroyed, and the people retired far into the interior. By *Firishta* this invasion is assigned to the year A.H. 413, or A.D. 1022, when the king (Mahmud), hearing that the inhabitants of two hilly tracts named *Kairat* and *Nardin* (or *Bairat* and *Narayan*) still continued the worship of idols (or lions in some

¹⁰⁹ [*Rashidu-d Din* gives the distance as fifteen parasangs.]

¹¹⁰ [See the variant readings elsewhere—to which may be added 'Kasurat', from Sir H. Elliot's MS.]

manuscripts), resolved to compel them to embrace the Muhammadan faith. The place was taken and plundered by Amir 'Ali."]

Nirun.—Sakura.—Jarak

Amongst the many places of which it is difficult to establish the true position in ancient Sind, Nirun or Nairun is one of the most perplexing, for several reasons. Its first syllable, even, is a controverted point, and while all the French authors uniformly write it Byroun, after Abul-l Fida,¹¹¹ the English equally persist in following Idrisi¹¹² and writing it Nirun and Nerun. What imparts a presumptive correctness to the French reading is, that it is set down as the birthplace of the celebrated Abu Rihan al Biruni. But here, *in limine*, several strong objections may be raised,—that Abu Rihan was a Khwarizmian, and is so called by the best authorities,—that throughout his descriptive geography of India, he is more deficient in his account of Sind than in any other part,—that he nowhere mentions it as his birthplace,—and that no one ever heard of any Birun in Sind, though many local traditions speak of a Nirun, and concur in fixing its locality. Abu-l Fida certainly writes it Birun, but there is often an assumption of accuracy about him which has been far too readily conceded by the moderns ; for he was merely a distant foreigner, who never left Syria except to go to Mecca and Egypt, and he was therefore compelled to copy and rely on the defective information of others. Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, and the *Ashkalu-l Bilad* are not quite determinate in their reading but the *Chach-nama* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* never write it in any other form than with the initial N, followed by ya, which leaves us still in doubt whether the word be Nairun, Nirun, or Nerun ; but it is certainly neither Birun, nor Birún, Nor Bairun, nor Byroun.

Other considerations with respect to the name of Abu Rihan, will be found in the Note devoted to that philosopher, published elsewhere in another volume.

¹¹¹ Geographie d' Abou-l Feda, p. 348.

¹¹² Geographie d' Edrisi, Tom. I. p. 16.

Under the dynasty of the Rais, Nirun was included within the government of Brahmanabad. The inhabitants of Nirun solicited from the Arabs a cartel of protection, as their city was "on the very read of the Arabs to Sind". After the conquest of Debal, "Md. Kasim directed that the catapults should be sent by boat towards the fort of Nirun, and the boats went up the stream called Sindh Sagara,¹¹³ while he himself advanced by way of Sisam".¹¹⁴ When Md. Kasim went from Debal "to the fortress of Nirun, which is twenty-five parasangs distant, he marched for six days, and on the seventh arrived at Nirun, where there is a meadow which they call Balhar, situated on the land of Baruzi,¹¹⁵ which the inundations of the Indus had not yet reached, and the army consequently complained of being oppressed by thirst. This drought was seasonably relieved through the efficacy of the general's prayers,—“when all the pools and lakes which were round that city were replenished with water.” He then “moved towards Siwistan (Sihwan) by several marches, until he reached Bahraj or Mauj,¹¹⁶ thirty parasangs from Nirun”. After his expedition to

¹¹³ [Sir H. Elliot read this name as *Dhand Sagara*; but the MS. of the E. I. Lib. gives it distinctly as "*Sind-sagar*," and this has been adopted in the text. Sir H. Elliot's copy seems rather to read *Wahand*, or *Wahind-sagar*, a name which is also admissible. It is called in the text an *ab*, or "*water*," which has been rendered by "*stream*," as it is manifest that the only water communication between Debal and Nirun must have been by one of the channels of the Indus. According to Capt. McMurdo, Debal was situated on the most western branch of the Indus, called "*Sagara*," up which Muhammad Kasim conveyed his engines. Journ. R. A. Soc., Vol. I. pp. 29, 32.]

¹¹⁴ [Both MSS. agree in reading "*Sisam*" as the name of the place by which Muhammad Kasim proceeded, but it can hardly be the place of that name to which he advanced after the capture of Siwistan.] Biladuri merely mentions the advance to Nirun.

¹¹⁵ [This sentence has unfortunately slipped out of the translation as printed.] The word again occurs—"from the camp of Baruzi," and Baruzi," and must be the name of a place. If the reading had not been plain in both instances, I should have preferred "*Niruni*."

¹¹⁶ [Sir H. Elliot's MS. of the *Chach-nama* gives this name as "*Bahraj*," but the E. I. Library copy has "*Mauj*," and this reading is confirmed by the MS. of the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*. On the other hand, Istakhri's map as given by Moeller lays down "*Bahraj*" in the locality indicated by the *Chach-nama*. A conflict of authority leaving the true reading doubtful, though "*Bahraj*" seems preferable.]

Siwistan and Budhiya, he was directed by Hajjaj to return to Nirun, and make preparation for crossing the Indus. He accordingly moved back by several difficult marches "to the fort which is on the hill of Nirun,"¹¹⁷ where there was a beautiful lake and charming grove. This fort was the nearest point to the capital of the Khalif. After crossing the Indus, a garrison was left at Nirun, to keep open the communications in the near and protect the convoys.

Istakhri and Ibn Haukal tell us that "Nirun lies between Debal and Mansura, but nearer to the latter, and that any traveller who wishes to go to Mansura, must cross the river Indus at Manjabari, which is on the western bank, and stands opposite to Mansura". The subsequent geographers copy these authors, as usual, adding little further information. Idrisi places it distinctly on the western bank. Abu-l Fida says it is fifteen parasangs from Mansura, and fixes it in latitude $26^{\circ} 40'$, on the authority of the Kanun of Biruni.¹¹⁸

The name of Sakara or Sagara, which is mentioned above, requires a few words of notice. The *Chach-namu* merely mentions that "the fleet of Md. Kasim came to anchor in the lake of Sagara;" but the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram* says, "having placed his manjaniks on boats, he sent them to the fort of Nirun, by way of the water of Sakura, while he himself marched by land."¹¹⁹ Elsewhere, we are informed in the same work, that "Debal, now called Thatta, was in the land of Sakura."¹²⁰ Again, Tharra, which was a strong fort near Thatta, was "in the land of Sakura."¹²¹ Again, Dewal, Bhambur, Bagar, and Tharra were each "excellent cities in the land of Sakura."

In the *Ayin-i Akbari* Sakura is entered as a Pergana in Sirkar Thatta; and in the *Tarikh-i Tahiri* it is also spoken of as a Pergana, lying under the Makali hills, in

¹¹⁷ Gildemeister, de rebus Indicis, p. 179. He insists upon reading Birun. M. Reinaud considers the original to be ambiguous in this passage.—Mem. sur l' Inde, p. 240.

¹¹⁸ Geographie d Abou-l Feda, *Texte Arabe*, p. 348.—D'Anville, *Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l' Inde*.

¹¹⁹ MS. p. 6.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 1.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 11.

which Thatta itself was included.¹²² Mas'udi speaks of a Sagara or Shakira, two days' journey from the town of Debal; and it is added that both branches of the Indus disembogue into the sea at that place. It does not seem improbable that we have the same word in the Sagapa of Ptolemy and Marcianus Heracleotes, for they call it "the first and most westerly mouth of the river Indus."¹²³

We may consider the stream of Sakura to correspond with the prolongation of the Gisri or Ghara creek, which at no very distant time must have communicated with the Indus above Thatta. Indeed, N. Crow, writing in the year 1800, says, "By a strange turn that the river has taken within these five and twenty years, just above Tatta, that city is flung out of the angle of the inferior Delta, in which it formerly stood, on the main land towards the hills of Buluchistan."¹²⁴

The position here assigned to the Sakura, points out the direction where we are to look for Nirun, to which, by means of that stream, there seems to have been a water communication—at least approximate, if not direct.

It is quite evident that Nirun was on the western bank of the Indus. Not only do we find Muhammad Kasim going there in order to make due preparations for "crossing" that river, not only do we find Dahir, on receiving the intelligence of the capture of Debal, directing Jaisiya to "cross over" from Nirun to Brahmanabad without delay (MS. p. 102), but it is also so represented both in the next, and on the maps, of Istakhri and the *Ashkalu-l-Bilad*. Nevertheless, M. D'Avezac, in the map prefixed to the *Memoire sur l'Inde*, places it on the eastern bank. His authority stands deservedly high, but can be of no value against the positive testimony here adduced to the contrary.

How then it came in modern times to be considered identical with Haidarabad it is impossible to say, but so it is laid down unhesitatingly from the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*,

¹²² MS. pp. 20, 48.

¹²³ Geog., Lib. vii.—Periphus, p. 32, in Hudson's Geograph, Græci Minores, Vol. I.

¹²⁴ Dr. Burnes, Visit to the Court of Sinde, p. 162.—See also Capt. McMurdo, Journ. R. A. Soc., Vol. I. p. 25.

down to the latest English tourist.¹²⁵ Even if it could be accounted for by supposing that the Falaili then constituted the main stream of the Indus, we should nevertheless find that the distances assigned to Nirun from various places named would not make it correspond in position with Haidarabad.

And here it is obvious to remark, that the establishment of its locality depends chiefly upon the sites which are assigned to other disputed cities, more especially to Debal and Mansura. I have elsewhere stated my reasons for considering Debal to be represented by Karachi, and Mansura by Haidarabad. Much also depends on the real value of the farsang,¹²⁶ which greatly varied in different places, even in neighbouring provinces. As it was probably modified in Sind by the local *kos*, we may ascribe to it the small standard of two miles and a half, which we know it to have had upon the Tigris, according to the latest and most accurate investigations. Or, without assigning to these roughly estimated distances an accuracy which they were never intended to bear, we may consider the Sindian parasang to vary from two to three miles, so as in no instance to be less than the one, or more than the other. It is usual, and doubtless more correct, to fix the standard at a higher value than even three English miles; but this is evidently quite inapplicable in Sind, and

¹²⁵ T. Kiram, *MS.—Tod, Annals of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 218.—McMurdo, Journ. R. A. Soc., Vol. I. pp. 30, 234.—Burnes, Travels into Bokhara, Vol. III. p. 31.—Elphinstone, History of India, Vol. I. p. 504.—Burton, Sindh, pp. 131. 376. The latter says its ancient name is not only Nerun's Fort, but Patalpur. If so, we can be at no loss for Pattala.*

¹²⁶ *On the Persian farsang, the Greek parasang, or Arabic farsakh, see the Metrop, and Penny Cyclop., v. "Parasang."—Ainsworth's Preface to Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand.—Grote's Hist. of Greece, Vol. XI. pp. 19-22.—Ouseley's Orient. Geog., p. xxii.—Rennell's Geog. of Western Asia, I. xli.—Reinaud, Geog. d' 'Abou-l Feda, Tom. I.—Freytag, Lex. Arab., s.v.—Forbiger, Handbuch der alt. Geogr., Vol. I. p. 555. In Khuzistan it is reckoned at three miles and three quarters,—Journ. R. Geog. Soc., Vol. IX. p. 31. This is also the length assigned by Ouseley and Kinneir. On the Tigris we have it given as only two miles and a half.—Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc., Vol. X. p. 119.*

would be even more decisive against the identity of Debal and Thatta, than the present hypothesis.¹²⁷

Guided by all these considerations, I am disposed to place Nirun at Helai, or Helaya, a little below Jarak, on the high road from Thatta to Haidarabad. The correspondences in other respects appear exact, in every instance of comparison.

It has a direct communication by a road over the hills with Bela and would be the first place in the valley of the Indus which the Arabs could reach by land, and therefore nearest to the capital of the Khilafat.

Lakes abound in the neighbourhood, and are large enough, especially the Kinjar, to have admitted Muhammad Kasim's fleet.

Nirun is represented as twenty-five parasangs from Debal. (The real distance is seventy British statute miles between Helai and Karachi.)

Nirun was situated on a hill, which would admit of its being identified with very few other places of note near the Indus. It lay between Debal and Mansura, but was nearer to the latter. (This position also corresponds with that of Helai). It was fifteen parasangs from Mansura. (Thirty-five miles is the distance between Helai and Haidarabad.)

We need scarcely pursue the comparison farther. We may rest assured that Nirun was, if not at Helai, at least at no great distance from it, and was certainly not Haidarabad. It is worthy of remark that Helai itself is a place of undoubted antiquity, and there are two remarkable hills in its neighbourhood covered with ruins, representing perhaps the Hyala of Diodorus.¹²⁸

Next to Helai, Jarak offers many points of probability. It is only twelve miles from Helai, and therefore the distances already laid down, with no great profession of exactness, would answer nearly equally well. Its commanding position, on a ledge of rock overhanging the Indus, necessarily denotes it to have been always a site of importance,

¹²⁷ *Mas'udi* is represented as laying down the Sindian parasang at eight miles. The same passage is rendered by Reinaud as "yodjanas," which would also imply a long parasang.—*Memoire*, p. 59.

¹²⁸ *Biblioth. Histor., Lib. xvii. cap. 104.*

and this is confirmed by the evidence afforded by several substantial remains of masonry on the banks of the river, which still arrest the observation of the traveller at that place.

Sudusan

The *Tarikh-i Alfi*, in a passage relating to Sultan Jalalu-din's proceedings on the Indus, mentions that Sadusan was subsequently called Sistan. Though the writer here commits the common error of confounding Sistan with Sihwan, or Siwistan, on the Indus, yet he leaves us in no doubt what correction to apply, and we thus derive from him an interesting piece of information; for the position of Sadusan, which is so frequently mentioned in the Arab accounts of Sind, has not hitherto been ascertained.

Samui.—Tughlikabad.—Kala-kot

Samui deserves notice from the attempt which has been made to establish it as the celebrated Minnagara of the ancient geographers. It was the capital of the Jams of the Samma dynasty, and, according to the *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, it was founded by Jam Paniya,¹²⁹ under the Makali hills, about three miles north-west of Thatta.

Subsequently, the fort of Tughlikabad was built by Jam Taghur or Tughlik, on the site of the older Kala-kot, about two miles south of Thatta; but that, as well as its predecessor, was left unfinished by its founder. By a strange vicissitude, the name of Tughlikabad is now comparatively forgotten, and that of Kala-kot erroneously called Kalan-kot (the great fort), though for a time superseded, has restored the just claims of Raja Kala, and still attracts the attention of the traveller. Lt. Burton calls it Kallian-kot. I fear to differ from so good a local authority, but believe Kala-kot to be more strictly correct.

The ruins of Samui, Samuiya, or Samma-nagar, "the city of the Sammas," are to be traced near Thatta; and, under the wrong and deceptive spelling of Sa-minagar, have induced Col. Tod, Sir A. Burnes, and many who

¹²⁹ [This is the "Jam Juna, son of Babiniya," of Mir Ma'sum.]

have too readily followed them—including even Ritter, who considers the question settled “incontestably,”—to recognise in that name the more ancient and more famous Minnagara. The easy, but totally unwarrantable, elision of the first and only important syllable has led to this fanciful identification.¹³⁰

Sindan, Subara or Surabaya, and Saimur

These three towns were all south of Kambaya, and the first two were ports. Saimur, though a place of trade, is not distinctly said to be a port, but it is laid down on the sea-shore in the map. Abu-l Fida says that Sindan was called Sindabur, but this is hardly in accordance with Al Biruni and Rashidu-d din. He also notices the variant forms of Sufara and Sufala for Subara. The route as given by Istakhri, Ibn Haukal and Idrisi is—

Kambaya to Surabaya, four days;
 Surabaya to Sindan,, five „
 Sindan to Saimur five „

And the first two add, Saimur to Sarandib, 15 days. Idrisi also states Broach to be two days from Saimur. Al Biruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindan fifty parasangs, and from Sindan to Sufara six parasangs. Abu'l Fida says that Sindan was the last city of Guzerat, and the first of Manibar (Malabar), three days' journey from Tana. It is hardly possible to reconcile all these statements, but there seems to be sufficient evidence for making Sindan the most southerly. It was on a bay or estuary a mile and a-half from the sea, and finds a likely successor in Surat. Istakhri's statement would make Saimur the most southerly, but this is at variance with Mas'udi and Al Biruni, who say that it was in Lar (the country round Broach), and with Idrisi's statement of its being at only two days' journey from Broach. But it is not easy to see how it could have been only two days from Broach and yet five

¹³⁰ *Tod*, Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 86; II. 220, 256, 312; and W. India, pp. 466, 481.—*Burnes*. Travels, Vol. III. pp. 31, 79; and Cabool, pp. 16-18.—*Lt. Burton*, Sindh p. 388; and Unhappy Valley, Vol. I. p. 105.—*T. Kiram*, MS. pp. 19, 20, 82, 84.—*Ritter* Asien, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 475.—*McMurdo*, Journ. R. A. Soc., I. 30, 232.

from Sindan. Notwithstanding the incongruity of these statements, it must have been a place of considerable size and importance. It is the only one of these three towns that has received notice by Kazwini. His account of the place is given elsewhere, but it supplies no data on which to fix the locality. Abu-l Fida does not mention it, and the *Marasidu-l Ittila'* affords no help, for it merely describes it as a city of Hind, bordering on Sind near to Debal.

Tur.—Muhatampur.—Dirak.—Vijeh-kot

Tur was the ancient capital of the Sumra dynasty, called also by the name of Mehmetur, and written by the local historians as Muhatampur and Muhammad-Tur. It was situated in the Pargana of Dirak, and its destruction has been mentioned in the Extracts from the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*. But its real ruin dates only from 'Alau-d din's invasion of Sind.

The ancient Pargana of Dirak is represented by the modern divisions of Chachagam and Badban on the borders of the Tharr, or sandy desert between Parkar and Wanga Bazar. There is a Pargana of Dirak still included in Thatta, which may be a portion of the older district of that name.

Another capital of the Sumras is said to have been Vijeh-kot, Wageh-kot, or Vigo-gad (for it is spelt in these various forms), five miles to the east of the Puran river, above the Allah-band.

The site of Tur has been considered to be occupied by the modern Tharri, near Budina, on the Gungru river. There are, to be sure, the remains of an old town to the west of that place; nevertheless, the real position of Tur is not to be looked for there, but at Shakapur, a populous village about ten miles south of Mirpur. Near that village, the fort and place of the last of the Sumras is pointed out, whence bricks are still extracted of very large dimensions, measuring no less than twenty inches by eight.¹³¹ Other fine ruins are scattered about the neigh-

¹³¹ Beg-Lar-nama, MS. p. 8.—Tuhfatu-l Kiram, MS. pp. 162, 166.—Dr. Barnes, Visit to the Court of Sind, p. 134.—Capt. McMurdo, Journ. R. A. Soc., Vol. I. pp. 24, 226, 233.

bourhood, and carved tomb-stones are very numerous. Fragments of pearls and other precious stones are occasionally picked up, which have all apparently been exposed to the action of fire. The people themselves call this ruined site by the name of Mehmetur, so that both the name and position serve to verify it, beyond all doubt, as the ancient capital of the Sumras.

The curious combination of Muhammad-Tur, is an infallible indication that "Mehmet" and "Muhatam" are merely corruptions of "Muhammad," for this name is wretchedly pronounced in Sind. The present mode is *Mammet*—our own old English word for an image, or puppet, when in our ignorance we believed *Mawmetrie*, or the religion of the false prophet, to be synonymous with idolatry, and *Mahound* with the Devil. So Shakespere, in *Romeo and Juliet*, says—

"A whining mammet, in her fortune's tender."

And Spenser, in his *Faerie Queene*—

"And oftentimes by Termagant and *Mahound* swore."

The still grosser corruption of Muhammad into "Baphomet," or "Baffomet," is not to be laid to the charge of our nation. This was the name of the idol, or head, which the Templars are falsely alleged to have worshipped,—*quoddam caput cum barba quod adorant et vocant salvatorem suum*. Raynouard argues that this word originates from a misprint, or mispronunciation, of Muhammad; but Von Hammer and Michelet lean to a Gnostic origin, which we need not stay to consider, being satisfied that "Baffomet" is only another, and still more extravagant disguise, under which Europeans have exhibited the name of Muhammad.¹³²

¹³² Raynouard, *Monuments hist. rel. a la condamnation des Templiers*, pp. 261-302; and in Michaud's *Hist. des Croisades*, Tom. V. p. 572; and in J. des Savants, for March and April, 1819.—Von Hammer, *Mysterium Baphometi revelatum in Fundgruben des Or.*, Vol. VI. pt. i.—Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Tom. III. p. 145.